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There is no doubt that professional shamanism has developed from the ceremonials of family shamanism.[1] The latter form is more primitive, while the functions of professional shamans somewhat resemble those of priests. However, the influence of contact with a higher civilization has had a more disastrous effect upon professional shamanism than upon that practised in the family.

There was a time when the Koryak had all the different kinds of shamans that are still in existence among the Chukchee. The Koryak tell of miracles performed by shamans who have died recently, but at the present time there are very few professional shamans among them. I did not find a single shaman in the settlements of the Maritime Koryak along Penshina Bay. The old men of these settlements told me that many people had died among them during the epidemic of measles which had ravaged these regions before my arrival, because there were no shamans to drive away the disease.[2]

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Fig. 18 (r̥i̥ɛ). Shaman's Head-Band.

The Koryak shamans have no drums of their own: they use the drums belonging to the family in whose house the shamanistic performance takes place. It seems that they wear no special dress: at least, the shamans whom I had occasion to observe wore ordinary clothing. One embroidered jacket (Plate 1, Fig. 1) and head-band (Fig. 18) were sold to me for my collection as the garb used by the Alutor shamans; but the jacket looks like an ordinary dancing-jacket used in the whale festival, except that it has some small tassels which have apparently been borrowed from Tungus shamans.

[1] It is very strange that both Steller and Krasheninnikoff, who spent several years in Kamchatka, assert that the Kamchadal had no professional shamans, but that every one could exercise that art, especially women and Koe'kŭč (men dressed in women's clothes); that there was no special shaman garb; that they used no drum, but simply pronounced incantations, and practised divination (KRASHENINNIKOFF, III, p. 114; STELLER, p. 277), which description appears more like the family shamanism of the present day. It is improbable that the Kamchadal should form an exception among the rest of the Asiatic and American tribes in having had no professional shamans.

[2] It is interesting to note that among the Yakut, a people with a more developed primitive culture, the embracing of Christian teaching has resulted in the decline of family shamanism, which, according to Trostchansky (p. 108), used to be practised among them, rather than that of special shamanism. Professional shamans can be found everywhere among the Yakut even at the present time.

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171 bloody sweat, it breaks the iron walls of enchanted castles. The horse figures
773 as the assistant and counsellor of the hero, — it warns him of impending danger, shows the way, and participates in his battles. The reindeer of the Koryak myths does not play such a part, being regarded mainly as an indication of wealth.[1]

Though the heroes of this legendary epos are frequently transformed into animals, or have the shape of animals, the underlying idea is not that of the identity of the hero and of the animal, but rather that of a supernatural and exceptional transformation for special purposes.

The Mongol-Turk tales of animals, in general, constitute a separate class of folk-lore, and in most cases have the form of comical fantastic tales told for pastime, or they are fables. Only a few of them reflect the view of nature held by the tribe at a remote period, and are connected with cosmogonic and mythological tales.

773 Although the Koryak folk-lore, as will be shown further on, is closely
177 connected with American mythology, it contains, nevertheless, a certain number of Asiatic or Mongol-Turk elements. Since the majority of episodes of the Koryak myths are found also in the tales of American tribes, we are justified in ascribing the presence of Mongol-Turk elements in the Koryak mythology, not to the common origin of the latter with the Mongol-Turk, but simply to the fact that the Koryak must have borrowed these elements. It would be interesting to find out how these elements have been introduced. As far as we are familiar with the history of these peoples, neither the Buryat nor the Yakut ever had any direct intercourse with the Koryak or Chukchee. The Buryat live too far southwest, while the Yakut are comparatively recent arrivals in the far north. Even at present the Koryak do not come in contact with the Yakut as a tribe. Only on rare occasions do a few Yakut from the Kolyma cross the Stanovoi Mountains to visit Gishiga for trading-purposes. At the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Russian Government sent Yakut criminals into exile from Yakutsk to the Okhotsk Sea, near the southern border of the Koryak territory; but these isolated meetings cannot have had any influence upon Koryak mythology.

773 If the assumption that the Mongol-Turk elements in the Koryak myths
174 were borrowed, is at all correct, then the tribes by which these elements were introduced must have been the Yukaghir in the west, and the Tungus in the south. I shall discuss at length the influence of the Yukaghir in my description of the Yukaghir, which will be published later on. At present I shall confine myself to a few remarks on the influence of the Tungus.

The Tungus are related to the Manchus. They are supposed to have

[1] It is interesting to note, that, in a Gilyak tale recorded on Saghalin Island by Sternberg (Gilyak Materials, p. 407), the hero has a winged iron reindeer, which speaks, gives advice, and carries him to heaven. It seems to me that this is borrowed from the Tungus tribes.

I: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4



migrated northward from the Amur River. At the time of the advent of the Russians in the Far East, the Tungus already occupied the coast of the Okhotsk Sea, thus separating the Gilyak of the Lower Amur River from the Koryak. The mythology of the Tungus has hardly been studied at all. From the small number of Tungus tales recorded by me on the coast of the Okhotsk Sea, it may be seen, that, though reflecting the mode of life of a reindeer-breeding people, they contain episodes from Mongol-Turk tales, and have almost no relation whatever to the raven cycle, or other characteristic North Pacific coast tales. Owing to the difference in social conditions, we find, in place of the rich Yakut lord or clan chief (toyo'n), or the Buryat Mongolian khans and princes, the powerful men (ni'vany), iron heroes, and amazons. We find also iron tents and reindeer breathing flames, like the iron houses and the winged iron steeds of the Mongol-Turk. I found all the episodes of one Tungus tale recorded by me, in the Buryat tales of Khangaloff. Of course, in order to form a final opinion regarding Tungus folk-lore, it is necessary to wait until the material of their tales has been collected from the various regions inhabited by the branches of this small but widely scattered tribe.[1] A certain number of Tungus tales from the northern regions have been recorded by Mr. Bogoras, but have not been published. However, the material at present available proves that a certain part of the Mongol-Turk elements found in the Koryak folk-lore was borrowed from the Tungus.

Through the use of domesticated reindeer, which is an acquisition of Asiatic culture, elements must have been introduced into the folk-lore of the Koryak which are foreign to the American tribes. In relation to this subject, a comparative study should be made of the myths current on the Asiatic coasts of the Pacific Ocean, of those of the reindeer-breeding Samoyed-Finn tribes inhabiting all of northern Siberia and Europe, including the Lapps of Norway, and of those of the reindeer-breeders to the south of the Koryak.

Among the Mongol-Turk elements of the Koryak myths, I include bloody sacrifices; and the presence in the tales of iron and silver objects owned by beings or men of supernatural power, such as iron or silver horns and hoofs of reindeer, rods of the tent or posts of the underground house, iron snowshoes, wonderful iron sleighs, iron boats or fishes which take the hero across a burning sea, iron mice lifting the hero upon a burning mountain, or a child with iron teeth from which sparks are flying, or an iron cliff in which a girl is hidden.[2]

It must be pointed out, however, that copper is mentioned in a similar manner in Indian myths. Copper was used by the American Indians long before the advent of the whites, and may have been replaced by other metals when the episodes in which it was referred to were carried to Asia. In most

[1] The branches of the Tungus tribe are scattered at present between the Okhotsk Sea to the east, the River Yenisei to the west, the Arctic Ocean to the north, and China to the south.

[2] See Tales 11, 17, 21, 48, 52, 66, 82, 83, 95 (pp. 145, 155, 163, 201, 208, 226, 251, 254, 281, 282).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4/ Koryak R Y 4



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succeed.[1] In Tale 123 (p. 318), on the contrary, Re'ra, Kĭlu''s sister, finds a husband, while Yiñe'a-ñe'ut does not.

11. Women have a contest of beauty and in the arts of shamanism.[2]

12. The hero causes a woman to contract a disease of which he himself cures her. Then, as a reward, the woman becomes his wife. By the same strategy a man may become a desired husband.[3]

13. Big-Raven's daughter is married to one man, and later on another husband brings her back when she visits her parents.[4]

14. Two persons sue for the hand of Big-Raven's daughter, and the one who accomplishes a certain task gets her.[5]

15. The marriage of Big-Raven's children to animals, inanimate objects, phenomena of nature, and supernatural beings.[6]

16. Miti''s and Big-Raven's adulteries with animals and objects.[7]

17. Eme'mqut marries his sister; and the latter, out of shame, exchanges husbands with another woman.[8]

18. A son of Big-Raven who had been driven away from home, or his deserted daughter, become powerful, and take revenge on their father;[9] or his daughters run away from home, owing to bad treatment.[10]

19. One of Big-Raven's sons starts off in search of his brothers, who are killed by cannibals. He kills the latter, and restores his brothers to life.[11]

20. The transformation of a man into a woman, and *vice versa*, and stories of men bearing children.[12]

21. Big-Raven's and his children's intercourse with the inhabitants of the heavenly or underground villages.[13]

22. Big-Raven's struggle with the Chukchee and Reindeer Koryak.[14]

23. Tales in which Big-Raven or his family are not mentioned.[15]

24. Miscellaneous tales.

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COMPARISON OF KORYAK AND AMERICAN MYTHOLOGIES. — Before proceeding to compare the elements of Koryak folk-lore with the episodes of American myths, it is important to point out some peculiarities of the Koryak tales. We shall see, from the comparative list of episodes (pp. 363-382), that the Koryak myths, while containing chiefly Indian elements, include also a certain number of Eskimo episodes. In the religion of the Koryak we have already

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[1] Tales 18, 19, 48, 58, 101 (pp. 156, 157, 200, 216, 289).
[2] Tales 7, 59 (pp. 140, 217).
[3] Tales 64, 75, 80 (pp. 222, 237, 248).
[4] Tales 79, 81, 91 (pp. 246, 248, 267).
[5] Tale 82 (p. 250).
[6] Tales 19, 33, 48, 52, 55, 58, 60, 63, 64, 66, 68, 80, 81-83, 86, 87, 106, 116, 123, 126, 135 (pp. 157, 183, 200, 207, 211, 216, 218, 221, 222, 225, 231, 247, 248, 250, 253, 258, 259, 294, 310, 318, 322, 335).
[7] Tales 31, 100, 121 (pp. 180, 288, 316).
[8] Tales 17, 20 (pp. 154, 159).
[9] Tales 76, 114 (pp. 240, 305).
[10] Tale 69 (p. 232), see also p. 21.
[11] Tales 3, 24, 30 (pp. 128, 166, 177).
[12] Tales 45, 85, 113, 129 (pp. 193, 258, 304, 324).
[13] Tales 8, 9, 12, 81, 83, 95, 111, 113, 114 (pp. 140, 142, 146, 248, 253, 280, 299, 304, 305).
[14] Tales 6, 26 (pp. 136, 170).
[15] Tales 27, 36, 43, 44, 47, 57, 97, 99, 105 (pp. 171, 184, 191, 192, 198, 216, 284, 287, 293).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R14 Koryak R14



found customs that have been observed among the Eskimo. The whale festival of the Maritime Koryak, and their taboo with reference to sea-mammals, — the meat of which must not be partaken of by women after confinement, and which must not come in contact with the dead, — are also found among the Aleut and Eskimo. This similarity is the more interesting, since the main food of the Maritime Koryak, as well as that of the Indians of the Pacific coast, does not consist of sea-mammals, but of fish.

Nevertheless, we find greater similarity between the religion of the Koryak and the beliefs of the Indians of the Pacific coast. In nothing, however, is this similarity so complete as in the Koryak myths, and nothing points so plainly to a very ancient connection between the Koryak and Indian mythologies as the similarity of the elements of which they are composed; for, while some of the religious customs and ceremonies may have been borrowed in recent times, the myths reflect for a very long time, and very tenaciously, the state of mind of the people of the remotest periods.

On the other hand, the similarity between the elements of Koryak myths and those of the Indians cannot be ascribed to a single cycle of traditions of the Pacific coast of America. They are not even confined to the coast only. We find in the Koryak myths elements of the raven cycle of the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian; those of the cycle of tales about the Mink of the Kwakiutl and neighboring tribes; of myths about wandering culture-heroes, totem-ancestors; and of tales about animals current among the tribes of British Columbia; and also episodes from the myths of the Athapascan of the interior, and the Algonquin and Iroquois east of the Rocky Mountains.

The circumstance that almost the entire Koryak-Kamchadal mythology is devoted exclusively to tales about Big-Raven brings it close to the American cycle of raven myths; but some characteristic features from other American cycles are also referred to Big-Raven. We find in the tales relating to Big-Raven and to members of his family a love for indecent and coarse tricks, which they perform for their own amusement, — a feature common to all the tales current on the whole Pacific coast.

To Big-Raven are ascribed not only greediness and gluttony, features characteristic of the heroes of the raven cycle, but also the erotic inclinations of the Mink, as well as the qualities of other heroes and transformers of the Pacific coast, and of the heroes Manabozho of the Algonquin, and Hiawatha of the Iroquois. Thus Big-Raven figures not only as the organizer of the universe and the ancestor of the Koryak, but also as a culture-hero.

In the monotony and lack of color of the tales, uniformity of the episodes, and simplicity of the motives of actions, the Koryak myths remind one rather of the tales of the Athapascans. Thus we find a similarity of form between some of the Athapascan legends recorded by E. Petitot[1] and those of the Koryak.

[1] See list of authorities quoted, p. 3.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4



reflection in the tales. A young man who marries into a strange family usually brings along his wife's brother, who marries his sister. Families thus connected by marriage ties come to visit each other. Big-Raven also goes to visit the upper world, owing to matrimonial unions between his children and the heavenly dwellers.

The list on pp. 363-382 shows which of the elements of the Koryak myths have analogous episodes in other cycles of myths. In comparing the elements of various cycles, I have taken into consideration, not only complete tales, but separate episodes from tales as well. In the myths of one and the same tribe we often find either a welding of two or more independent stories into one tale, or a disintegration of a tale into its constituent parts. Frequently one and the same episode is ascribed, now to one, now to another hero. These changes are due either to the individual peculiarities of the narrator or to the historical development of folk-lore, producing new variants, and adding new material.

We may expect changes of this kind, but on a larger scale, in cases where one tribe borrows its myths from another unrelated tribe, or where one branch of a people breaks away, and so moves far away from the common habitat. In the first case, the tribe adapts the new myths to its own conceptions concerning phenomena and events; in the second case, the branch that splits off changes its myths in consequence of the influence of its contact with new conditions of life and new neighbors.

Leaving open for the time being the question as to the former relations between the Koryak and the aborigines of North America, we must say that we have in the Koryak myths quite a number of episodes constituting only fragments of the whole mass of episodes contained in Indian and Eskimo tales. For instance, of the highly elaborated tale of the Tlingit and Tsimshian, — in which it is related how the sun is set free by the Raven, who has turned himself into a leaf or the needle of a cedar, and, letting himself be swallowed by the daughter of the owner of the sun, is born anew by her in the shape of a child, and then steals the sun, which is kept concealed in a box, — we find modified episodes among the Koryak. They tell that Raven-Man steals the sun in revenge for his unsuccessful wooing of Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, and hides it in his mouth until Big-Raven's daughter tickles him, so that he opens his mouth, and thus sets the sun free.[1] The episode of another tale[2] about Big-Raven's daughter giving birth to a child in consequence of having eaten a piece of reindeer-marrow into which Earth-Maker (Tanu'ta) had transformed himself, is apparently adapted from the episode with the leaf or cedar-tree needle, altered to suit the conditions of life of reindeer-breeders.

The Eskimo-Indian tales about the children of the woman and a dog, who take off their dog-skins in their mother's absence, and assume a human

[1] Tale 82, p. 250.

[2] Tale 111, p. 299.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4



appearance, are in the Koryak tales divided into two separate episodes, — into tales about Big-Raven's daughter marrying a dog;[1] and those about dogs, which, in the absence of their masters (Big-Raven's family), put on embroidered coats, and beat the drum.[2]

In a common episode from the Indian cycle of tales about the Mink, it is told that a hero ascends to heaven by means of a chain of arrows. In the Koryak tales, this chain is reduced to one arrow sent up to heaven, which thus makes a road leading upward. The place of the American mink, which does not occur in northeastern Asia, is apparently filled in the Koryak tales by the ermine.

In place of the Eskimo and Indian tales about the lover who goes at night to a certain girl, who makes a mark on the visitor, and thus discovers in the morning that he is her brother, we have tales about Eme'mqut marrying his sister. It should be remarked that in the former as well as in the latter tales, the brother figures as the cause of the incest, and the sister considers it a disgrace. But in one Chukchee tale[3] it is the sister who induces her brother, in a fraudulent manner, to enter into a culpable union with her, just as in the Greek myth about Hippolytus and his step-mother Phædra.

The episode about the daughter hidden in a bead, who remains upon the body of her dead mother,[4] recalls the Indian tale about a dead woman giving birth to a live child.[5]

Summary of Comparisons. — A concordance of episodes of Koryak myths is given on pp. 363-382. From this it appears, that, out of 122 episodes, there occur in

| | |
|---|---|
| (1) Old-World mythology | 8 |
| (2) Eskimo " | 12 |
| (3) Indian " | 75 |
| (4) Indian and Eskimo mythology | 10 |
| (5) Indian and Old-World mythology | 9 |
| (6) Indian, Eskimo, and Old-World mythology | 8 |
| (7) Eskimo and Old-World mythology | 0 |
| | 122 |

In summing up the elements of the Indian, Eskimo, and Old-World myths, we have

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 102 Indian | episodes, or | 84 | per cent. |
| 30 Eskimo | " " | 24 | " |
| 25 Old-World | " " | 20 | " |

It is very interesting to note that we have no episodes common to the Old-World and the Eskimo only, and we conclude that the elements of Old-World myths found in the Eskimo mythology reached the Eskimo through the medium of the Indian or Chukchee.

[1] Tale 33, p. 183. [2] Tale 2, p. 127. [3] Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. 172.
[4] Tale 81, p. 248. [5] Boas, Indianische Sagen, pp. 65, 170, 272, 290.

l: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY 4



If we assume that the mythology of the Koryak has borrowed certain elements from the Mongol-Turk, we must admit that the similarity between some American and Asiatic episodes is also due to borrowing. For this reason it is necessary that the comparative study of Asiatic and American myths be continued, in order to make clear the ways and means by which the borrowing took place.

I have not introduced into our comparative list of legendary elements any episodes from the myths of the Alaskan Eskimo, published by Nelson,[1] because the Indians have exerted a very strong influence on the folk-lore of the Alaskan Eskimo, and a large part of the episodes of the latter cannot be considered as genuine Eskimo elements. To have included these elements would have caused confusion.

Eskimo influence on Koryak culture is not easily explained. If we had to do merely with a certain number of common mythical episodes, it would be plausible to assume that the Eskimo reached Bering Sea rather recently, coming from the East, — that is, broke the chain of myths spread in a continuous line along the Asiatic and American coasts of the northern part of the Pacific, — and that thus the Eskimo myths reached the Koryak through Chukchee channels; but the Eskimo elements in the religious rites, and, as we shall see later on, in the material culture, of the Koryak, point, I believe, to direct intercourse of the Koryak with the Eskimo at some period. The attempt to explain the cultural similarity of the two peoples as the result of similar conditions of life would be utterly inadequate, in view of their geographical proximity; but when, and under what circumstances, the contact between the Koryak and the Eskimo took place, remains thus far an open question.

Whatever the solution of this question may be, there is no doubt that the Eskimo appeared on the American-Asiatic coasts of Bering Sea as an entering wedge, which split apart the trunk of the common mythological tree. Neither the present isolation of the Koryak from the Indians, nor the influence of Asiatic culture on their customs and social life, has been able to efface from their myths the characteristic spirit and style of the traditions of the American Pacific coast. This is amply proved by the list of episodes contained in our list. It should be stated that most of the episodes cited are repeated in the myths in different combinations; nevertheless, I am far from having exhausted all the episodes of the tales. In the time at my disposal for this investigation, I have been able to make use of a small part only of the comparative material from mythological literature. No doubt the list of similar episodes and of complex episodes could be considerably increased by the use of more extended material. This would result, of course, in adding to the list of Eskimo and Asiatic points of similarity; but the percentile proportion between the different groups of episodes would probably increase in favor of the Indian myths. It

[1] See list of authorities quoted, p. 7.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4



171 may be stated with certainty that the myths of the Asiatic-American coasts
174 of the North Pacific Ocean (not going here into details as to the peculiarities of the different cycles of myths of North America) possess a homogeneous cycle
773 of ideas. Besides, the Koryak myths, both by their general character and by their form, resemble most closely the northern Indian cycles, — the raven cycle of the Tlingit of the Pacific coast, and the myths of the Athapascan; that is, the groups of myths of those tribes whose territory lies next to that of the Alaskan Eskimo, who have evidently separated the Indian tribes from the so-called Palæasiatics, and in their turn adopted a considerable part of the ideas of the raven cycle.

As to the number of Indian episodes in the Koryak mythology, we see from the comparative list that

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 73 | episodes | belong | to the | myths of the Tlingit (coast of Alaska) and of the northern coast of British Columbia. |
| 65 | " | " | " | coast of southern British Columbia. |
| 35 | " | " | " | Athapascan tribes. |
| 27 | " | " | " | coast of Washington. |
| 10 | " | " | " | Algonquin. |
| 13 | " | " | " | Micmac, Ponca, Navajo, and other Indian mythologies. |

What, then, is the conclusion to be drawn from the similarity of ideas of Koryak and Indian folk-lore as to the relations between these tribes at a time remote from ours?

We can hardly ascribe this similarity, in accordance with the theory of Andrew Lang, to the uniform workings of the human mind. There is no ground, in this case, for holding to this theory; for how can it be explained that the imagination of the Koryak has created a mass of American, and not Asiatic or European topics, and topics which have retained in a great many cases entirely fortuitous details? Moreover, the geographical proximity of these tribes does away with the plausibility of such an hypothesis.

Two possible explanations may be advanced in the present case, — (1) the similarity of the folk-lore is the result of a common origin of the tribes themselves; or (2) the myths alone have a common origin, and one of the tribes has borrowed its ideas from the other. However, in both cases, the two tribes must have been at some time in close contact.

[142] The somatological material collected by the Expedition has not been worked up as yet, and it is therefore impossible to say at present what conclusions may be drawn from it with reference to the origin of the tribes of the two coasts of the Pacific Ocean. However, the folk-lore which has been investigated justifies us in saying that the Koryak of Asia and the North American Indians, though at present separated from each other by an enormous stretch of sea, had at a more or less remote period a continuous and close intercourse, and exchange of ideas.

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## IV. — HABITATIONS.

The Reindeer as well as the Maritime Koryak call their dwellings yaya'ñı or ļr'ge-yan[1] ("genuine house"). The Maritime Koryak call the tents of the Reindeer Koryak ča'učewyan ("Reindeer people's house"), while the latter call the dwellings of the Maritime Koryak wa'lxai ("jaw-bone [of a whale] house"). This name is of great interest. From it the conclusion may be drawn that in olden times the Maritime Koryak used for the construction of their underground houses bone of whale,[2] which is still used by the Eskimo.

Remains of underground dwellings the framework of which was of bone of whale were seen by Wrangell and Nordenskiöld along the shores of the Arctic. Mr. Bogoras saw ruins of such houses in the villages of the Maritime Chukchee and Asiatic Eskimo on Bering Sea. These houses are called by the natives wa'lkar, which also means "jaw-bone house."[3]

REINDEER KORYAK. — The dwelling of the Reindeer Koryak consists of an outside tent and an inner sleeping-tent. The frame of the outer tent is built after the type of the movable dwellings of the nomad Mongol and Turkish tribes of Asia; such as the cattle-breeding Kirghiz and Kalmuk,[4] who cover the frame of their tent with a felt covering, and the reindeer-breeding Tungus,[5] who use birch-bark or reindeer-hide for the same purpose.

The characteristic feature of this type of dwelling is its construction in two parts; the lower part being cylindrical, and the upper part or roof conical, in shape. The Koryak reindeer-skin tent, however, is clumsier and heavier than the felt habitation (kibitka) of the Kirghiz, and the leather or birch-bark dwelling of the Tungus. The lower part of the outer tent of the Reindeer Koryak does not form as regular a circle as do the lower parts of the tents of the above-mentioned tribes. Still it is more symmetrical than that of the Reindeer Chukchee, which, on the whole, it resembles.[6]

The frame of the outer tent (yaya'ñı) of the Reindeer Koryak consists, first of all, of three foundation-posts (Fig. 59), or ye'lxel, arranged in the form of a tripod, and tied together at the top by means of strong thongs.

[1] In the Chukchee language ļr'ē-ran

[2] I found no ribs or jaw-bones of whales in the framework of the excavated ancient underground house of the Koryak in Gishiga Bay, while bones of whales were scattered all round the pits of the old dwellings.

[3] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII, of this series, p. 180.

[4] For a detailed description of the dwellings of the Turkish and Mongol tribes see the interesting paper of N. Charusin, The History of the Development of the Dwellings of the Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Turkish and Mongol Tribes of Russia (Ethnographic Survey, Journal of the Ethnographic Section of the Imperial Society of the Friends of Natural History, Anthropology, and Ethnography [Moscow, 1896], Vol. XXVIII, No. 1).

[5] A detailed description of the different types of Tungus habitations will be given in my work on the Yukaghir.

[6] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 169.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4



yaya'ñi. It is an underground, or rather semi-underground, solidly built, permanent dwelling-place. It is of wood, mainly of poplar or aspen, which grows to a considerable height even along the lower courses of the rivers of the Koryak territory. The Koryak float the timber down in summer to the mouths of the rivers; and sometimes they use driftwood. Driftwood carried down by the current from the river-heads may be found mountain-high in the bays and at the mouths of the rivers.

The dwellings vary in size according to the number of inhabitants. Small houses occupied by a family of from five to eight persons may be found frequently. From excavations undertaken by me on the sites of ancient settlements in Gishiga Bay, it appears that in olden times the underground houses were more spacious than those of the present time. Families separated more rarely, and all relatives used to live together. The average number of occupants of one house at present is from six to thirteen. Out of 110 underground houses on the shores of Penshina Bay, of which I took a census, in only one (in the Paren settlement) did I find twenty-one persons, and they comprised two families. According to tales of olden times, there were formerly underground houses occupied by as many as forty persons. Among the Kerek we still find twenty-five persons in one house.[1] A house in Mikino (Plate xx) inhabited by fifteen people was found to be 15 metres long (not including the entrance-room), 12 metres wide, and 7 metres high. Such a house is somewhat larger than the average present-day underground house; and those but half as large, or even smaller, may often be found.

In order to build an underground house, a circular hole from 1 to 1.5 metres deep is dug, in which the walls are put up in the form of an octagon. The octagon is not equilateral. The sides *a* (Fig. 60) are longer than *b*; and the sides *c* are half as long as *b*. Eight poles (*P*) about as long as the height of a man are driven into the ground at the eight corners. Between the poles two vertical rows of split logs, or large poles, or round stakes, are driven into the ground, and the spaces between them are filled in with dry grass. The tops of the eight outside corner poles (*P*) are notched, and

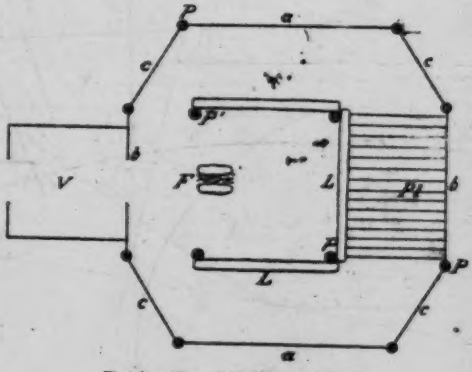


Fig. 60. Plan of Underground House.

[1] See p. 440

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

## V. — REINDEER-BREEDING.

THE BEGINNING OF REINDEER-BREEDING. — The domestication of wild reindeer is probably of less ancient origin than that of other draught-animals. This is shown by the fact that the domestic reindeer still differ but little from the wild variety. In the prehistoric period the reindeer lived much farther to the south than they do at present. Numerous remains of this species have been found in the palæolithic stations in Switzerland and in France. But the ancient inhabitants of Europe confined themselves to hunting reindeer without making any effort to tame them. As with the passing of the glacial period the climate became milder, the reindeer abandoned central Europe, retreating gradually northward. In Asia, however, the reindeer still occurs as far south as the Amur River, the southern extremity of Saghalin Island,[1] and on the Sayansk Mountains. The wild reindeer are still met with in certain localities in the mountains of Kuznetsk-Alatau Ridge.[2]

Professor Keller, relying on the statement of Professor Frijs of Christiania, that the Lapps of northern Scandinavia were engaged in fishing and hunting as late as the ninth century, and cared for reindeer only as game, admits the possibility that the beginning of the taming of the reindeer does not date farther back than a thousand years;[3] but a period comparatively so short is hardly sufficient for the completion of the difficult undertaking of taming a wild animal.

The process of domesticating wild animals is a gradual one, passing through different stages of taming, and the reindeer are not yet wholly domesticated. The taming of the reindeer presented special difficulties, owing to their low intelligence. Even the most tame and docile reindeer do not recognize their master, and turn off the road if not directed, or unless tied to the sledge ahead of them in the train. Among the reindeer-breeders of northern Europe and Asia, from the Lapps to the Chukchee,[4] we still find

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[1] See P. I. Smidt, The Island of Saghalin (Magazin des Russischen Reiches, [St. Petersburg, April, 1905], p. 155).

[2] They are found there only on the high summits, and by their presence prove that at one time the region passed through the glacial period, at the expiration of which the reindeer retired to the summits. This was pointed out by Prince Peter Kropotkin and Dimitri Klements. The traces of glaciers in the river-systems of the Kuznetsk-Alatau region were made a subject of study by I. Tolmachev. According to the verbal statement of Mr. Klements, Alatau hunters regard the reindeer as a special variety of the wild goat (*Capra*), and call it by the Turanian name Ax-kix, which means "white wild goat" (ax, "white"; kix, "wild goat").

[3] C. Keller, Naturgeschichte der Haustiere (Berlin, 1905), p. 200; Frijs, Wanderungen in den drei Lappländern (Globus, 1872, Vol. XXII, p. 2).

[4] The following tribes are at present engaged in reindeer-breeding, — the Lapps (Scandinavian and Russian), the Zyryans, the Samoyeds, the Ostyak, the Dolgan, the Karagas, the Soyot on the Yenisei, the northern Yakut, the Yukaghir, the Tungus tribes, the Koryak, and the Chukchee. In 1770 the domesticated Scandinavian

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak Ry4



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different stages of domestication of that animal. The domestic reindeer of the Chukchee and the Koryak are only slightly tamed, and may be regarded as in a primitive stage of domestication. Left to themselves, they readily return to the wild state. On the other hand, we know of no other instances of the domestication of wild reindeer. Thus, the traveller Maak relates an instance in which all attempts to tame captured wild fawns ended in failure.[1] The same is reported by Sieroszevsky,[2] although the offspring of domestic does and wild bucks become tame when reared in a domesticated herd. However, though they are much better runners and much stronger than the offspring of domesticated bucks, they develop an abnormal stubbornness.

It is difficult to solve the question whether reindeer-breeding originated in one place, from which it spread in various directions, or whether different tribes of the northern part of the Old World succeeded independently in the difficult task of domesticating the wild reindeer.

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I. Lippert supports the hypothesis that the German Scandinavians were pioneers in domesticating the northern reindeer, and later imparted their knowledge to the Lapps, from whom the domestic reindeer spread farther east.[3] On the other hand, E. Hahn locates the origin of reindeer-breeding in northeastern Asia,[4] whence, in his opinion, it spread westward.

The latter hypothesis does not seem to me very plausible, because in northeastern Asia, among the Chukchee and the Koryak, reindeer-breeding is even now in a more primitive state than it is in the west. Besides, if northeastern Asia were the birthplace of the domestication of the reindeer, it would be difficult to explain why it spread to the west only, while the Eskimo and the Indians of the extreme north of America remained outside the sphere of influence of this civilizing factor. Both species of the American *Rangifer tarandus* — the barren-ground caribou and the woodland caribou — still remain in a wild state. The Government of the United States, desirous of introducing reindeer-breeding into Alaska, had to import domesticated reindeer from the Old World. If we are to assume that reindeer-breeding had its inception in but one place, Lippert's hypothesis would be the more probable.

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reindeer were introduced into Iceland, and of late years attempts have been made to introduce reindeer-breeding into Alaska. In Iceland the attempt failed completely. The imported reindeer soon returned to the wild state, and now they are hunted only (see Fr. Ekhard, Islands Natur und Volkskunde [Copenhagen, 1813], p. 90). The importation of reindeer into Alaska was begun by the United States Government in 1890. In 1903, when the importation had ceased, the herds in Alaska contained 6114 head. In 1905 they increased to 10,241 head. It is difficult to predict whether or not reindeer-breeding will ultimately prove successful (see G. B. Gordon, Notes on the Western Eskimo [Transactions Department of Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania, 1906, Vol. II, Part I, p. 73]).

[1] Maak, The District of Vilnisk, III, Ethnographical part, p. 154.

[2] Sieroszevsky, p. 149.

[3] L. Lippert, Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit, 1886—87, I, p. 541. That the Lapps have learned to tame the reindeer from the Scandinavians is asserted by Professor Frijs in the paper mentioned before (Globus, XXII, 1872, p. 2).

[4] E. Hahn, Die Haustiere und ihre Beziehungen zur Wirtschaft des Menschen (Leipzig, 1896), pp. 263, 265.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4



The best-trained race of reindeer is that owned by the Lapps, who make use of the watch-dog for guarding their herds. The Lapps, moreover, lay in stores of reindeer-moss,[1] so that the reindeer are better cared for by them than by other reindeer-breeders. All this points to the fact that reindeer-breeding in the extreme west of the Old World is of more ancient origin, since, in the domestication of animals, the more advanced the system, the longer is the period required to develop it.

Schrenck considers the Tungus as primarily a reindeer people, and he advances the hypothesis that they transmitted reindeer-breeding both to the East and to the West, to the Samoyeds and Lapps inclusive.[2] He thinks[3] that the Koryak and the Chukchee may have obtained domesticated reindeer from the Tungus, who came to the polar region from the south.

Bogoras admits the possibility of an influence of Tungus reindeer-breeding in inducing the Koryak and the Chukchee to breed domestic reindeer of their own; but he thinks that they may have tamed wild reindeer which they had found in their own territory, without actually obtaining domesticated animals from the Tungus. "This would seem the more plausible," says Bogoras, "since their reindeer is quite different from that of the Tungus."[4] In support of this hypothesis, the fact could be cited, that, while the Tungus are principally reindeer-riders, the Koryak and the Chukchee use their reindeer harnessed to sledges.

Whatever the origin of reindeer-breeding among the Koryak and the Chukchee may have been, there is no doubt that its development was stimulated by hunting-expeditions into the interior of the country on the part of the maritime inhabitants. In those years when they had no luck in fishing, hunting-expeditions in search of land-animals were more frequently undertaken, and lasted longer. This was necessary for the support of the population. At the same time, a protracted stay of individual hunters, and sometimes of entire hunting-parties, in the interior of the country, led to the taming of wild reindeer or to the acquisition of domesticated reindeer from neighboring tribes. The acquisition of domesticated reindeer or the taming of wild ones insured the people against starvation in case of failure in fishing, and against accidents in hunting land-animals. It also made it possible for certain parts of the tribe to remain entirely in the interior of the country; and it facilitated, moreover, migration from place to place.

The domesticated reindeer not only began to furnish food and clothing, but rendered possible the transportation of tents, household goods, and supplies. In the interior of the country the reindeer proved a more convenient

[1] Schrenck (II, p. 180) once met two reindeer-sledges of Saghalin-Orok loaded with lichens.
[2] Schrenck, II, p. 178.
[3] Ibid., II, p. 176.
[4] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 71.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4



draught-animal than the dog. The reindeer found its own food, while the dog required supplies of fish, which could not be had in the interior of the country, especially in the mountains. On the other hand, the reindeer compelled its tamers to begin a nomadic life in search of pastures; and in this manner the more or less settled inhabitants of the maritime and river regions became nomads. This process controverts somewhat the accepted scheme of the development of civilization, in which a settled state is usually considered to denote a higher stage of culture than a nomadic state; while here the nomadic state appears as a later step in the development of Koryak culture.

The taming of the reindeer is undoubtedly a civilizing factor of high order. Still, under given conditions of Koryak life, reindeer-breeding represents primarily *material* progress. The reindeer-breeder is more secure and wealthier than the maritime inhabitant, but, on the other hand, he is coarser. Constant worry connected with the care of his herd, the struggle with nature, and the moving from place to place, claim all the time of the reindeer-breeder, and stunt his mental development. On the contrary, the comparatively warm home of the settled Koryak, and his leisure in winter, stimulate habits of reflection, and develop his mind and his powers of observation. The different forms of primitive art, as we shall see later, are found developed principally among the sedentary Koryak.

It is strange that some travellers have thought that the sedentary Chukchee and Koryak were the descendants of Reindeer nomads who had lost their herds through epidemics or wars. Thus, Krasheninnikoff, Ermann, Dittmar, Kennan, and Slunin say of the sedentary Koryak, that they were formerly reindeer-breeders, but that in the wars with the Chukchee — or through epidemics, as Slunin says — they lost their reindeer;[1] while Sarytcheff, Wrangell, and Schrenck say of the Maritime Chukchee, that they were formerly reindeer-breeders, but, having lost their reindeer through epidemics, left the interior of the country for the coast to engage in hunting sea-animals.[2]

As a matter of fact, several groups of sedentary Koryak, such as the Opuka Koryak, are claimed to have been reindeer-breeders; but, as a rule, reindeer-breeding appears as a higher economic type in the development of material culture than do fishing and hunting. There is no doubt that the remote ancestors of the Reindeer Koryak of to-day were a maritime people, and began to leave the shores for the interior of the country, only after the development of reindeer-breeding. The custom of carrying burdens and children on their backs by means of head-bands, which is still prevalent among the women (see Plate xxxv, Fig. 2, and Plate xxxvi) is a survival of the

[1] See Krascheninnikoff, II, p. 204; Ermann, Reise um die Erde (Berlin, 1838), p. 423; Dittmar, Die Korâken, pp. 7, 36; Kennan, p. 159; Slunin, I, p. 354. The same is maintained by Professor D. Anuchin (Russian Encyclopaedia of Brockhaus and Efron, Vol. XXVII, p. 151).

[2] See Sarytcheff, Voyage, II, p. 105; Wrangell, II, p. 222; Schrenck, II, p. 25, Note 4.

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time when, in wandering from one place to another, they had to carry their possessions, like the American Indians, on their own persons.

The fact that, of the three related tribes, — the Chukchee, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal, — the last-mentioned has not developed reindeer-breeding, shows to what extent expeditions into the interior were responsible for the domestication of the reindeer. The land of the Kamchadal consists of a rather narrow peninsula with a long stretch of coast-line, adapted for maritime and river settlements. Hunting-expeditions in search of wild reindeer and mountain-sheep in the mountains of the central Kamchatka range did not take the hunters far away from their settlements. Besides, fish are more abundant in the Kamchatka rivers than in those of the Koryak country, and the food-supply obtained from the sea by the Kamchadal was more regular than that of their northern neighbors. In my opinion, this accounts for the fact that we find no domesticated reindeer among the Kamchadal.

In the Koryak territory the extent of coast-line, in comparison with that of the interior country, is still considerable; but among the Chukchee the interior is extensive as compared to the length of coast-line. Hence I believe the relative as well as the absolute number of Reindeer people is greater among the Chukchee than among the Koryak. According to the census of 1897,[1] 75.6 per cent (9,208 persons) of the total number of Chukchee are reindeer-breeders; while the reindeer-breeders constitute only about 50 per cent of the Koryak (3,748 persons). Bogoras received the impression that in the last few decades reindeer-breeding among the Chukchee has been on the increase.[2] This opinion is supported, among others, by the fact that, during the sixties of the last century, part of the Chukchee reindeer-breeders who before had been wandering in the territory east of the Kolyma River asked permission of the Russian Government to pass over to the western side. They felt crowded in the east. In a few years they spread in the west from the Kolyma to the Indighirka River.

The same cannot be said of the Koryak. Their reindeer-breeding industry, we have reason to suppose, has increased in the north of the Kamchatka Peninsula in the Parapol Dol. Some groups of the Reindeer Koryak, such as the Koryak wandering along the rivers Oklan and Tılqai, who were formerly wealthy reindeer-breeders, have now become impoverished; while part of the Koryak on the rivers Opuka and Khatırka, who were formerly reindeer-breeders, are now settled. It is true that we also see the reverse process. Some groups of sedentary Koryak have taken to wandering with their reindeer; but that is true only of those Koryak groups[3] which consist of mixed families, nomads and settlers, and which do not possess large herds. The owners of large herds, numbering, perhaps, thousands of heads,

[1] See Patkanov, pp. 19, 27.
[2] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 72.
[3] See p. 434.

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178 233 are found only among the genuine Reindeer nomads of the Taigonos Peninsula, the Palpal Ridge, and in the Parapol Dol. It is quite possible, as I said before, that the proportion of Reindeer Koryak has now increased, but that is because a considerable part of the settlements has disappeared as a result of wars and of a high rate of mortality.

114 233 174 To answer the question which of the two tribes, the Chukchee or the Koryak, engaged in reindeer-breeding first, is no less difficult to answer. If Schrenck's hypothesis, that these two tribes had obtained the domesticated reindeer from the Tungus, is correct, it would necessarily follow that the nearest neighbors of the Tungus, the Koryak, would be the first to acquire them. But that is just what cannot be maintained.

233 174 If we turn to the myths, we shall see that they throw little light on this question. The Chukchee myths represent the Koryak as a people engaged exclusively in reindeer-breeding, and the Koryak myths maintain the same thing of the Chukchee. This mutual characterization of the two peoples by their myths reflects the surroundings amidst which they came in conflict at a period when reindeer-breeding had already begun. During that period, wars were waged, principally between the Reindeer Chukchee and the Reindeer Koryak. If, according to Russian annals, the Reindeer Chukchee not only waged war on the Maritime Koryak of Bering Sea, but also penetrated to the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk, there is no indication, on the other hand, that the Reindeer Koryak ever attacked the Maritime Chukchee. The northeastern branch of the Maritime Koryak, the Kerek, may, of course, in times past, have had intercourse with the Maritime Chukchee near the mouth of the Anadyr River; but the Maritime Chukchee on the shores of the Arctic Ocean, and the Maritime Koryak of the Sea of Okhotsk, not only could not have met, but they had as vague an idea of each other as they have to day. The remote maritime people of the north are known among the Maritime Koryak under the name of "Aiwan;" but that is the name under which the Asiatic Eskimo are known on the Chukchee Peninsula.

The myths give no tangible data as to the origin of reindeer-breeding. The appearance of domesticated reindeer is represented in legends rather as an act of special creation. Sometimes they are lowered down from heaven by the Supreme Deity, and sometimes the heroes put life into the wooden figures of reindeer. Most frequently we find, in the myths, tales relating how Big-Raven, or his son Eme'mqut, would pull poles out from the ground, and how reindeer would come out of the holes. According to this account, domesticated reindeer, previous to their appearance on earth, had lived, by the will of the culture-heroes, in the underground world. On the whole, Koryak myths give no hint regarding the process of domestication of the wild reindeer.

The Koryak, like other reindeer-breeders of northern Siberia, have special

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names for the wild (o'lgolu) and the domesticated (qoya'ñi) reindeer,[1] as if the origin of the domesticated reindeer from the wild had entirely disappeared from the memory of the reindeer-breeders. Thus, it is interesting to note that the stories of the reindeer produced by heroes from holes in the ground are related by the Eskimo and the Indians in connection with the caribou;[2] while the Koryak tell the same tales about the domesticated reindeer.

It is likewise of interest that in Chukchee mythology we find the domesticated and the wild reindeer identified. One of the Chukchee incantations[3] for attracting wild bucks to a domesticated herd is called "The Buck Incantation," or "Incantation for converting Wild Reindeer into Domesticated Ones" (Qaalva't-e'wgan, Kirñat-e'wgan eu'rim). Furthermore, one of the Chukchee myths contains the following story as to the origin of reindeer-breeding.[4]

"Old Creator, having taken on the image of a raven, flew up to the Supreme Deity (Añañ-Va'irgin) and asked him for reindeer for the people. The Deity gave him wild reindeer. The Creator brought them down to earth. The people met the reindeer with cries, which frightened them and caused them to disperse over the tundra. The Creator again went up to heaven and brought down to earth other reindeer, which remained with the people."

According to the Koryak myths, Big-Raven, their ancestor, owned domesticated reindeer. Yet he is represented rather as a Maritime hunter; and the real Reindeer people — the Chukchee and the Tungus, as well as the Koryak reindeer-breeders — are pictured as people strange to him, of low intelligence, and most frequently hostile to him. This divergence between Reindeer and Maritime inhabitants is even more strikingly illustrated in the Chukchee myths, in which ancient Chukchee life is depicted in an exclusively maritime aspect.

Draught and Riding Reindeer. — The Koryak, like the Chukchee, use their reindeer exclusively in harness, and even consider it a sin to ride them. In summer the herdsmen themselves not only walk from one pasture to another, but even carry with them their belongings. Only in localities where the Chukchee and the Koryak live in close proximity to the Tungus, intermarry with them, and interbreed their reindeer in order to make them tamer, do they ride their reindeer, and then principally in the summer, when it is impossible to use sledges, owing to the swamps. Such is the custom of the Koryak on the Varkhalam and Gishiga Rivers, and of the Chukchee near the Indighirka River.

According to the accounts of Lehrberg, cited by Hahn and Keller, the

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[1] Thus, the Yukaghir call the domesticated reindeer "a'če," and the wild, "to'lou;" the Tungus call the domesticated reindeer "o'ron," and the wild, "beyu'n;" and the Yakut call the domesticated reindeer "taba'," and the wild, "men-a'x." The Yakut have another name for the wild reindeer, namely, "taba'-kil." "Kil" means "a wild animal." This name is probably a translation from the Russian дикій олень.

[2] See Part I, pp. 143, 164, 187, 367.

[3] Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. 2.

[4] Ibid., p. 168.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY 4



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Samoyeds of the fifteenth century used to ride their reindeer at that time, but also used them in harness.[1] At present, the Samoyeds, like their neighbors the Ostyak, use the reindeer only in harness, but that does not exclude the possibility of other uses of the reindeer by them in the past.[2] In the opinion of ethnologists, the original country of the Samoyeds extended at one time considerably farther south than at present, or as far as the region of the Sayansk Mountains, whence they were crowded to the north by the Turko-Tartar tribes. Moreover, some of the Samoyed tribes which remained in the Sayansk Mountains and along the upper course of the Yenisei River have become assimilated with the Turks or the Mongols. These tribes include the Tartarized Karagos and Soyot. The small tribe of the Karagos, and part of the Soyot, are still engaged in reindeer-breeding, and use their reindeer for riding only.[3]

But the principal and typical reindeer-riders at present are the Tungus. The use of reindeer by them as pack and riding animals is evidently influenced by the character of the locality in which they live, as well as by their mode of life. The Tungus occupy the most mountainous as well as the most wooded part of northeastern Siberia, and, as typical hunters, they are always wandering about. In summer they have to pass over deep swamps, or to cross not only mountain-streams but also large rivers; and it is exceedingly difficult to cross high mountain ridges, or to penetrate wild, dense woods, with sledges. This necessitates the use of pack and riding animals. For the same reason the Karagos and Soyot, living in mountains not easily accessible, have trained their reindeer to riding. According to the verbal statement of Klementz, the Karagos, in ascending and descending mountains, dismount, and lead their reindeer by the rein. The same is done in the mountains by the Tungus, who take great care of their reindeer when travelling. Being a comparatively frail animal, the reindeer is easily exhausted, or succumbs to bruises and strain. The Tungus, therefore, always see to it that their reindeer are not overworked, and that wounds are not caused by the friction of the saddle and packs.[4]

The Scandinavian Lapps, in spite of the mountainous and woody nature

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[1] E. Hahn, Die Haustiere und ihre Beziehungen zur Wirtschaft des Menschen (Leipzig, 1896), p. 265; Keller, Naturgeschichte der Haustiere (Berlin, 1905), p. 201. On the other hand, Middendorff (Vol. III, p. 494) cites the opinions of Martens (Archiv für Naturgeschichte, 1858, I) and of Marsden (Travels of Marco Polo, 1818, p. 222), which discredit the statements of ancient writers as to reindeer-riding. But the fact that at present, as we shall see further on, some tribes make use of the reindeer as a riding-animal, justifies the conclusion that the *a-priori* reasoning of the writers quoted above, as to the past, has no foundation in fact.

[2] Judging by their epos, the Ostyak used the reindeer as a draught-animal in ancient times as well. At the time described in their legends, reindeer-breeding among the Ostyak was developed to a greater extent, and extended farther south than at present. See S. Patkanov, The Type of an Ostyak Hero, according to Ostyak Legends and Hero Tales (St. Petersburg, 1891), pp. 34, 35.

[3] My information as to the Karagos and the Soyot was obtained personally from Dr. Dimitri Klementz, curator of the Ethnographic Division of the Museum of Emperor Alexander III., St. Petersburg, who is known for his explorations, principally archæological, in southern Siberia and Mongolia.

[4] Reindeer-riding will be described in detail in the work on the Yukaghir.

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of their territory, use the reindeer only in harness; but their narrow, canoe-like sledges easily glide along paths that are otherwise hardly passable. Besides, they harness only one reindeer to a sledge, after the manner of the freight-sledges of the tundra Yukaghir, the Chukchee, and the Koryak.

However, some Tungus tribes, when they come in contact with people using sledges, employ their reindeer in harness and for riding, and for carrying packs, or for use in sledges exclusively. Schrenck thought[1] that the Saghalin Orok are the only Tungus tribe which make use of reindeer both for riding and for hauling sledges. According to his opinion, they adopted the idea of using sledges from the dog-breeders, the Gilyak. That is, of course, possible; but, as I have said before, there are other Tungus tribes who use sledges. Thus, all over the extensive northern tundra — between the Kolyma and Lena Rivers, where the Tungus tribes come in contact or intermingle with the Yukaghir or the Yakut — they have in certain cases adopted the sledge-harness without giving up reindeer-riding. The same may be said also of the Tungus living in other parts of the province of Yakutsk. On their trips through the mountains, or on hunting-expeditions, they still use reindeer for riding and for carrying packs; but, for transporting merchandise and mail between post-stations, they hitch their reindeer to sledges. Such contracts, however, are taken up only by rich Tungus who own large herds. In some localities the Tungus have, in later times, begun to train their reindeer to draw sledges. Thus, on the trail between Ola (a bay of the Sea of Okhotsk) and the upper course of the Kolyma River, which was opened only ten years ago, the local Tungus have trained their reindeer, which were formerly used exclusively for carrying packs, to carry goods on sledges. The Dolgan, a Yakutized Tungus tribe in the Yenisei tundra, and the Khangai, a Yukaghirized Tungus tribe in the Kolyma tundra, are now using the reindeer in winter in sledge-harness, and in summer as riding and pack animals.

Races of Northern Reindeer. — In eastern Siberia two principal races are distinguished, both among the wild and the domesticated reindeer. The wild reindeer are divided into mountain and tundra reindeer. The former are characterized by their greater height and the gray or light-gray color of their fur. In summer they retire from the mosquitoes to the summits of the mountains, and in winter they come down to the river-valleys. The tundra reindeer are not so tall, and they have darker hair. They, too, flee from the mosquitoes in summer, but to the shores of the Arctic Ocean and to near-by islands; and in winter they return to the northern forest-line. These migrations are carried out in large herds, which are waylaid by hunters on the Anadyr River and on the lower course of the Kolyma River in the spring and fall when the reindeer cross those streams.

[1] Schrenck, II, p. 179.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak R44



233 136 It is worthy of note that the pregnant females leave for the north ahead of the males, crossing the rivers on the ice, so as to reach the summer places before the fawns are born. One of the distinguishing peculiarities of these two races of reindeer is the form of the hoof. The mountain reindeer have a high, steep hoof; the tundra reindeer, a rather flat, platelike hoof.

The domesticated reindeer are likewise divided into two races, corresponding to the races of the wild reindeer; namely, the Tungus and the Koryak-Chukchee reindeer. The Tungus reindeer is taller in stature, has longer legs, a more elongated muzzle, and hair of a lighter color (mostly gray or reddish gray), than the Koryak-Chukchee reindeer. The body of the Koryak-Chukchee reindeer is larger in proportion to its height. The color of its fur is darker than that of the Tungus reindeer. The hair of the fawns is especially dark; frequently it is black in the fall, and toward winter, as they grow older, it turns somewhat gray. The dark color of their fur seems to me to be caused by the humidity of the climate. In maritime regions the coloring of the reindeer is darker than in the mountains and in the continental climate of the Yakut territory. Among the Koryak-Chukchee reindeer we also meet more frequently with white (as though in contrast with the dark shades) and with dappled reindeer than we do among the Tungus. The spotted skins are highly prized for clothing, and the white ones for funeral dress. Spotted skins are never found among wild reindeer.

All that I have said here about the two races of reindeer is based upon accounts of the natives and on my own superficial observations. Professor Allen, in describing the material furnished by our Expedition, says, however, "Although this material seems considerable, it is insufficient, both in quantity and in character, to enable one to make satisfactory comparisons between the wild and the domesticated animals, or between the two commonly recognized domestic races, — the Lamut and the Chukchee." Further on he says, "The color of these skins is much like that of our eastern woodland caribou, at least, in general effect: the antlers, however, are longer and more slender, and partake more of the Greenland type."[1]

174 233 The domesticated reindeer of the tundra Yukaghir and of the polar Yakut belong to the Tungus race of reindeer. We know that the reindeer-breeding of the polar Yakut is of recent origin, and that they adopted the reindeer from the Tungus; but of the tundra Yukaghir this can hardly be said. It is quite possible that their first reindeer were of the Chukchee race, and that, after amalgamation of the tundra Yukaghir with the Tungus, the reindeer of the former gradually approached more nearly to the type of the Tungus race. A change of that kind may be observed in the reindeer of the Chukchee group which settled but thirty years ago on

[1] Allen, Report on the Mammals collected in Northeastern Siberia by the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History [New York, 1903], Vol. XIX, p. 126).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4



the Yerchen, a tributary of the Indighirka River. It may be observed, in this connection, that the sledge of the tundra Yukaghir belongs to the Koryak-Chukchee type, and not to the Tungus-Yakut type.

DEGREE OF DOMESTICATION. — Next to the Chukchee reindeer, the Koryak reindeer are the wildest, and, but for their gregariousness, it would be difficult to manage them. The number of driving and draught reindeer in each Koryak herd is very small, seldom exceeding that necessary for moving the family. The driving and draught reindeer are more accustomed to man and his habitation, but, after spending a summer with the herd without being used, they return again to their native state. The Koryak reindeer is mainly part of the herd, and feels but little its connection with man and his habitation. Human urine is an essential attraction for the reindeer in a nomad camp in winter.

The Koryak very seldom travel alone or with light supplies; that is, without family, baggage-train, tent, and herd. When stopping over night, the driving and draught reindeer are allowed to join the herd; and in the morning, before starting out for the journey, they are caught by means of a lasso. Whenever I happened to travel by reindeer-sledge without the herd, family, and baggage-train of the drivers, nearly half a day would be spent in trying to catch the reindeer. In spite of the fact that the wilder among the driving-reindeer had yokes suspended from their necks, which dragged before their front-feet and interfered with their running, they managed to get away many miles from the camping-place during the night.

The heavy Koryak tent is less adapted for frequent migrations than that of the Tungus. The herd, after eating all the moss around the tent on a new place, wanders farther and farther away from it. The Tungus are more mobile than the Koryak, and, as soon as the lichen around the camp is eaten, they move to another lichen-covered place. The reindeer must always be near the habitation. Moreover, two or three times during the day, the Tungus herdsmen round up the herd, bringing it close to the tents, so that the reindeer may remain accustomed to people and their habitations. No matter how large a Tungus herd may be, its owners try to ride as large a proportion of the animals as possible. Even the females are laden with packs during migrations, or are made to carry the children and the young. Thus the greater part of the herd is used to the saddle. The smaller a Tungus herd is, the tamer; because in that case all the reindeer are trained to ride, and are more accustomed to man. On the contrary, the Koryak manage a large herd more easily. For that reason the owners of small numbers of reindeer combine their herds into one large one.

When I crossed the Stanovoi Mountains, on my way from Gishiga to the Kolyma River, I had with me in the early part of my journey two Tungus herdsmen with ten pack-reindeer and a few reindeer for slaughter

Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY 4

## VI. — DOG-BREEDING.

231 492 174

The Beginnings of Dog-Driving, and its Former and Present Extent. — No doubt the dog was domesticated long before it was used for driving. According to a tradition recorded by me in the village Itkana, the use of dogs for driving, among the Koryak, began as follows. Once upon a time some children who were playing with a dog tied it to a wooden chamber-vessel (oča'lyo). The dog dragged the vessel along. "Ah," said the people, "it can draw!" and they hitched the dog to a sled.[1] This tradition points to the fact that in the memory of Koryak now living a reminiscence has been preserved of the time when the dog, though already a domesticated animal, was not employed for driving-purposes.[2]

492 171

According to the statements of early travellers and writers, like Marco Polo and Witsen, dog-driving in western Siberia was formerly employed much farther to the south than it is now. As stated by Witsen, at the time when he wrote (1785) there were no horses in the northern parts of the Yenisei district, but only dogs; and even near Tomsk horses were used in summer for driving, and dogs in winter.[3] Later on, the horse supplanted the Siberian driving-dog, and in the extreme north it found its competitor in the Arctic reindeer. In more southerly latitudes the dog has held its place as a driving and draught animal only in the southeastern part of Siberia, in Kamchatka, on Saghalin Island, and in the Amur region. In the well-known expedition to the Yugra country in 1499 the Russian Army was accompanied, according to Lehrberg, by hundreds of dog-sledges.[4] The same writer states that in former times dog-driving was in use west of the Ural Mountains in the government of Perm. Middendorf supposes that in Europe the driving-dog was superseded by the horse in antiquity, probably in prehistoric times. He

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[1] Steller (p. 133) quotes the tradition of the Kamchadal, according to which their creator Kutka did not hitch up dogs, but dragged the sled himself.

[2] It is interesting to note that in Koryak mythology reindeer-driving as a sign of wealth is contrasted with going afoot as an indication of poverty (see Part I, pp. 253, 281, 283), but not with dog-driving. In my judgment, it cannot be inferred from this that the Koryak dog was not used for driving until after the reindeer had been tamed. In the first place, the dog is the most ancient domesticated animal, and, besides, it was very easy to teach it to draw a sled; in the second place, primitive imagination, as well as the most modern, employs extreme situations to enhance contrast, unwittingly or purposely disregarding intermediate conditions that do not bring out the contrast so well. In one myth (see Part I, p. 210) Big-Grandfather asks his daughters to give him some soup for feeding the dogs. He goes out and calls the dogs, and the reindeer which have carried off the Fog-Man turn into dogs and run back to the trough with their sled. From this myth it may be concluded that the creator of the Koryak world is conceived of as having driving-dogs.

[3] See Middendorf, II, p. 520.

[4] See Lehrberg, Untersuchungen zur älteren Geschichte Russlands: 1. Ueber das Yugrische Land (St. Petersburg, 1816), p. 17.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4



174 the question now arises, to which tribe does the
492 invention of the harness described here as the East Siberian type, which is used at present by the Koryak, belong? We do not know the type of harness used in olden times by the Koryak and Chukchee. It is likewise unknown what type was used by the Yukaghir who lived between the Lena and the Kolyma Rivers. I am inclined to think that the primary East Siberian dog-harness i. e., that of the native dog-breeders of East Siberia — consisted of one single bight like that of the Gilyak or Kamchadal, but that the Russian immigrants changed it by adding to the single bight back-bands

Fig. 69 ($\frac{1}{11}$). Modern Kamchadal Dog-Harness.

and a belly-band, and that the natives afterwards adopted from the Russians the harness modified in that way. The following considerations support this hypothesis.

The East Siberian dog-harness, with its cross back-straps and belly-band, recalls as I stated before, the back-straps and belly-band employed in the Russian horse-harness;[1] the Kamchadal have adopted the East Siberian harness from the Russians; and the Russians, not only all over eastern Siberia, but even on the Amur River,[2] employ this harness, evidently imported by them, and not that of Gilyak type. That the Yakut, according to Middendorf's statement, called the East Siberian type the Yakut harness, does not at all argue that it was actually invented by the Yakut, the northern branch of whom became dog-breeders very late. Their word for "dog-harness" (a'lyk)[3] is not a Yakut word, but the Russians of various Siberian localities designate the dog-harness by this term.

I think that the Eskimo harness too, with three bights, is an improved type developed from the single-bight harness. The latter can be easily cast off by the dog, or it slipps off[4] — a great inconvenience — in driving over

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wodurch sie die grösste Zugkraft entwickeln können" (see Dittmar, Reisen in Kamtschatka in den Jahren 1851–1855, p. 161).

[1] It is interesting to add here that the West European dog-harness for pulling carts is of the East Siberian type; i. e., the type is, as I suppose, of Russian origin. The only difference between the West European and the East Siberian dog-harness lies in their back parts. While the East Siberian dog-harness ends with one trace, which is fastened to the main line, the West European dog-harness ends in two traces, — one on each side, — which are fastened to the ends of a whiffletree, as in a double horse-harness. The shape of the back part, and the manner of attachment to the main line, are another inconvenience of the East Siberian dog-harness; for the dog must run somewhat obliquely in order to draw with the chest, and this fatigues the dog extremely.

[2] See Schrenck, II, p. 173.

[3] See Footnote 2, p. 505, alygga' = alyk + ga; -ga is the possessive suffix.

[4] It may be noted here, that, according to Dittmar's description, the former Kamchadal single looped dog-harness was also prevented from slipping off by fastening the breast-piece to the dog-collar (see p. 507, Footnote 3).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4



492 174

snowdrifts, over hummocky ice, and rough ground, where the long traces of the Eskimo harness may catch.

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The Koryak make the dog-harness of hide of the thong-seal (*Erignathus barbatus*), as well as of bear-hide. On the Kolyma, dog-harness is also made of ox, horse, and elk hide.

492 171

There is no information to the effect that dogs have been used in the Old World as beasts of burden; but, according to Klutschak,[1] the Eskimo sometimes use dogs for carrying packs when sledge-driving becomes difficult or impossible. The dog of the American Indian is also used as a beast of burden. I have heard that prospectors in Alaska use the dog in the same way.

Methods of attaching Dogs to the Sledge. — Like the Russians of eastern Siberia, the Koryak nowadays harness the dogs in pairs, one dog on each side of a long stout main line (Plate xxvi, Fig. 1; see also Fig. 183). Probably this method has also been introduced by the Russians to facilitate fast driving, since in this way many dogs can be harnessed to the sledge. Judging from certain survivals of former harnessing, the natives of Siberia, who harness dogs tandem, formerly used to attach them to the main line singly, and alternately on the right and left of the trace. The Yukaghir of the Upper Kolyma harness dogs that way even now; and the same is done by the Koryak when transporting household effects from the winter to the summer dwelling, and *vice versâ*, if their dogs are few in number. According to some statements, the Koryak in olden times did not drive fast. They harnessed few dogs to the sledge, and the driver himself helped to pull or push the sled, as the western Eskimo do. The Koryak often do so even now when moving from their winter houses to their summer quarters. To avoid the trouble of loading and managing a sledge drawn by a small team, the Koryak, who have few dogs, often walk from village to village, if these are not too far apart, carrying their goods in a bag on the back. In olden times walking was more in vogue than it is now.

According to Schrenck's description, the Gilyak, like the Yukaghir of the Upper Kolyma, attach the dogs at equal distances apart, alternately on the two sides of the main line,[2] and there are only few dogs (about six or seven) in a team; while the Russians on the Amur attach the dogs in pairs,[3] with the exception of the first (the leader), which may be single, the team consisting of from five to seven pairs. This latter method is used by the Russians all over East Siberia. According to Krasheninnikoff, the Kamchadal of his day would usually harness only four dogs to a sled, but would attach them alternately or in pairs.[4]

The Eskimo generally attach the dogs so that the traces of each dog

[1] Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimo (Wien, 1881), p. 83.
[2] See Schrenck, II, Plate xxxvi, Fig. 2, p. 172.
[3] Ibid., p. 173. [4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 77.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak RY4



492 run directly to the fore-part of the sled. The line of one dog (the leader), being somewhat longer, enables it to keep ahead; while the others, in running, 171 are arranged like a fan. According to Bogoras,[1] this method of harnessing was still in use on the Chukchee Peninsula in the middle of the last century. On the other hand, the Eskimo about Bering Strait now employ both the Asiatic and the American methods of harnessing; i. e., tandem and fan-like,[2] having evidently adopted the former method from the Chukchee, or rather from the Russians in Alaska. At Point Barrow the Eskimo, too, now employ the Asiatic method of harnessing. As Murdoch[3] states, "the dogs are attached in a long line, alternately on opposite sides of this trace, just so far apart that one dog cannot reach his leader when both are pulling;" i. e., as the dogs are attached by the Yukaghir of the Upper Kolyma, the Gilyak, and in many cases by the Koryak. The Eskimo about Bering Strait, in employing the tandem method, attach single dogs alternately, or in pairs if there are more than three dogs.[1]

493 THE SLEDGE. — The sledge now employed by the Koryak for dog-driving 174 is of the same type as that in use in the whole of northeastern Siberia, but chiefly among the Russians. This sledge, with its three or four pairs of vertical stanchions, with a horizontal front bow tied to the upturned runners, and with a vertical bow at the first pair of stanchions and a netting of thongs on the sides and in the back, is also in use among the modern Chukchee, and has been described in detail by Bogoras.[4] We do not know now what was the original type of the Koryak dog-sledge, but doubtless it was not the sledge above described. The ancient Chukchee dog-sledge had "curved ribs, similar to the reindeer-sledge."[5] The ancient dog-sledge of the Kamchadal[6] also had curved ribs. Accordingly there is no ground for assuming that the Russians adopted from the Koryak the above-described type of sledge with vertical bow. In Steller's time there were already in use in Kamchatka two types of sledges;[7] namely, the ancient Kamchadal sledge with curved ribs, and the present *narta* imported by the Russians. As with the dog-harness, so also with the East Siberian dog-sledge, I think that in its fundamental form it is a type of dog-sledge of some native tribe, most likely the dog-breeding Yukaghir, with whom the Russians fell in on the rivers Yana, Indighirka, and Kolyma, far back in the first half of the seventeenth century.[8]

[1] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol VII of this series, p. 98.

[2] See Nelson, The Eskimo about Bering Strait, p. 209.

[3] See Murdoch, The Point Barrow Eskimo, p. 358.

[4] See Bogoras, The Chukchee. Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 21, pp. 104—106. It should be added, however, that our information concerning the method of harnessing and dog-driving of the Maritime Chukchee of the Arctic Ocean between Cape Erri and East Cape is as yet incomplete.

[5] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 99.

[6] See Steller, p. 370; Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 78; Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 93.

[7] See Steller, p. 370.

[8] The Cossacks founded the town Verkhoyansk on the Yana River, and reached the Indighirka as early as 1699. Since then the Russians have been improving the local means of transportation.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4



But the Russians considerably improved upon the native type, and then carried it to Kamchatka, the Koryak, Chukchee, and to the Russian settlers on the Amur. Part of the Yakut, who became dog-breeders but lately, have also adopted this type of sledge. Its structure, dimensions, and firmness are well adapted for fast driving, for carrying heavy loads, and for making long journeys, — conditions of which the primitive tribes of Siberia had no need, or much less need than the Russian conquerors, — at first for military campaigns, and later for mercantile transports, the conveyance of officials and priests, and for carrying scientific expeditions. For the transportation of passengers the sledge had to be made long, with a comfortable seat in the rear,[1] and room in front for the driver. I also think that the vertical bow of the sledge is a Russian invention. When jumping off the sledge during the journey, either to run for a while or to urge the dogs along, the driver does not let go of this bow. If he should, the dogs, on scenting game, or aroused by something else, might suddenly run away, leaving the driver in the wilderness. This danger is great when the number of dogs in harness is considerable and the sledge is without freight. Once when I myself drove a team of dogs and got off to adjust the sledge, the dogs suddenly ran away and left me alone. Luckily there was a village seven kilometres away, where the dogs stopped, while I escaped with no more serious result than having to walk this distance in heavy travelling-clothes.[2] The Yukaghir of the Upper Kolyma, who have few dogs, and who are in the habit of helping them to draw the sledge, use no vertical bow. In travelling over the Yukaghir territory on the Upper Kolyma River, I could make no use of Yukaghir dogs. They are unfit for fast driving with passengers and heavy freight. I had to hire horses from the distant Yakut villages. The Yukaghir themselves, in their wanderings, go on foot or on snowshoes. Only children and the sick sit on the sledges. But whenever I had to make short journeys, and it was inconvenient to send for Yakut horses, the Yukaghir, in order to carry me some five or ten miles, would combine the dogs of two or three households into one team. I would sit on the sledge alone, without a native driver. One Yukaghir on foot, — sometimes on snowshoes — would run in front, followed by the team; while another would run behind the sledge, holding in his hand one end of a long thong, the other end being tied to the

[1] To a sledge intended for passengers a high netted back, made of sticks and strips of leather, is attached.

[2] I knew a certain Yakut, Nikolai Sleptsoff by name, who lived on the border of the forests, on the Kolyma tundra, and who in the spring was driving a dog-team over the open tundra, and fell ill with snow-blindness. Unable to see the trail, he could not drive, and he let the dogs go, in the hope that they would take him to the village. All at once he felt that the dogs had gotten off the trail and into the soft snow. He got off in order to feel for the trail with his feet; but the dogs, probably roused by some beast that passed by, ran away with the sledge, and left the blind Yakut alone in the tundra. Sixteen days he lay there, subsisting on melted snow. The Reindeer Yukaghir found him in a dying condition, and cared for him until he had regained his strength. The dogs and the sledge were found by the relatives of the Yakut, who went in search of him. They had strayed far away from the tundra, into the forest. The dogs, entangled in the bushes and in their own harness-straps, had died there.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Z44 Koryak R94



semicircular cross-section (Fig. 97) was employed, which served as a plane, knives being inserted into the blade-holes.

Previous to the introduction of iron, spears were made of bone and stone. The stone spear is still in use, but only for hunting whales (see Fig. 93, p. 552). Traditions are still handed down concerning the bone spears which were used both in war and in hunting. Krasheninnikoff mentions the threepronged spears of the Koryak.[1] Presumably the iron spear superseded the old bone spear, at an early time. The spear played an important rôle in hand-to-hand fights. Tradition relates how the heroes, wielding only a spear, overcame their enemies. In olden times there were also contests with spears. Iron spears[2] are nowadays employed only in bear-hunting and in killing reindeer and dogs for sacrifice.[3] Every herdsman owns an iron spear, which is tied to the right side of the riding-sleigh, which is usually provided with bone rings for suspending it.

Fig. 97 (¹¹⁄₁₅). Bone Planer. Length, 7.5 cm.

Another weapon used in hand-to-hand fights was the big knife (mainowal). It was about 50–60 cm. long, with a short handle of bone. It was carried in a sheath on the left side, like a short-sword, suspended from a shoulder-strap. It is not known what kind of weapon was supplanted by the iron knife. The Yukaghir, according to tradition, used long battle-knives made of elk-ribs. The big knife is used at present chiefly by the Reindeer Koryak, who carry it on journeys and use it for chopping wood for the fire and for cutting frozen meat; but even in quite recent times this knife served as a weapon.

Judging from accounts of the customs of former times, the slung-shot must have been used in war. In consisted of a long thong of thong-seal hide, with a stone at its end. In one tradition which I recorded in Nayakhan, in which a battle between two heroes is described, it is related that the warrior from Nayakhan — who was known under the name of "Woman-Snatcher," because he took by violence all the women who pleased him — was once surprised by a hostile hero when he had no bow and spear, but only a slung-shot, which he wore like a belt. While dodging his adversary's arrows, he hurled his slungshot at the latter with such force that the line encircled his body several times and cut him in twain.

The Russians early introduced a wide-bore flintlock gun for hunting sea-mammals.[4] Powder and lead are supplied by the government and are sold at cost price. The lead bullets are made by the hunters themselves.

Some Koryak own Winchester rifles, which are obtained either directly

[1] Krasheninnikoff, I, p. 51. [2] See Fig. 143
[3] See Part I, Plate VII, Fig. 2, opposite p. 80; and Part I, Plate X, opposite p. 96.
[4] For description compare, Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 159.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak Ry4



415 281

Bags for keeping Clothing. — The Koryak keep their reserve clothing in bags made of the skins of ringed-seals, of spotted seals, or of ribbon-seals. The skins are dressed on the flesh side, and the hair is left on. The bags are made with the hair side out, and, like those of the Eskimo, are of two shapes, — wide bags with a top opening, which is tied with thongs; and elongated bags, resembling a seal in shape, or made of an entire seal-skin, the flippers of which are sewed up. The openings of bags of this kind are slit across the chest and laced up.[1] The Maritime Koryak keep articles not in use, and spare clothing, in such bags, in the houses or in storehouses. In the houses these bags, with their contents, serve as pillows. In winter, bags containing summer clothing are kept in the storehouses; and in summer the winter clothing is kept in the same way. Funeral clothing not fully finished is also kept in storehouses.

Fig. 133 ($\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{7}$). Embroidered Pouch.

531 281 292 [174]

Belts. — Women very rarely wear a belt. Embroidered carrying-straps[2] belong to the funeral clothing of women. The belt, however, forms part of the funeral dress of men.[3] This points to the fact that the belt has been used by male Koryak for a long time. The Koryak gird up their house-coats and their short travelling-coats with their belts. The long fur travelling-coats, or the overcoats of leather or imported cloth, are worn without belts (see Plate xxxii, Fig. 1). [293] The belt consists of a dressed strap of thong-seal skin, two or three fingers wide, with a large iron buckle.[4] In ancient times, buckles were made of ivory, and these may be seen even now. [302] On the belt hangs a small belt-knife in a sheath, a case embroidered with glass beads containing a birch-bark tobacco-box, and often iron tweezers for pulling out hair (Fig. 133). These tweezers seem to me to have been adopted from the Tungus. Among the Maritime Koryak, belts are frequently embroidered with glass beads (see Fig. 202).

[1] See illustrations in Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 192; and Nelson, p. 44.
[2] See Part I, Fig. 54, p. 109. [3] Ibid., Fig. 46, p. 106. [4] See Fig. 205.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4



the head-piece of the fire-drill a small rounded quartz pebble is chosen; and on one side of this a socket for the upper end of the shaft of the drill is made by means of a drill (at present an iron drill).[1]

I have spoken before of the large flat stones which are used, without any artificial finish, for tables,[2] — one measuring 77 cm. in length and 48 cm. in width; another ($\frac{77}{100}$), 38 cm. in length and 28 cm. in width. It is interesting to compare these stone tables with the unworked sandstones found by Dr. H. Grimm in the excavations of ancient underground dwellings, evidently of the Ainu, on the island of Yezo.[3] Grimm does not suggest the use to which these stones may have been put by the former inhabitants of the underground dwellings.

The similarity of these dwellings, and the remains found in them, to the underground Koryak dwellings and the ancient utensils of the tribe found in excavations and preserved among them as keepsakes, suggests that the Maritime Koryak participate in a type of material culture formerly widespread over a considerable portion of the coasts and islands of the northern part of the Pacific Ocean. The flat sandstones described by Grimm seem to me to have done the same service among the former inhabitants of the underground houses on Yezo as the analogous stones still do among many Koryak, chiefly the Maritime Koryak of Penshina Bay.

Work in Iron. — At present Paren and Kuel, villages of the Maritime Koryak of Penshina Bay, are renowned for their manufacture of iron tools. The knives, axes, and spears of the Paren and Kuel blacksmiths, not only find a market among the Koryak and Chukchee, but even find their way to Kamchatka and to the neighboring Tungus.

Here two questions arise, — when did the Koryak become acquainted with iron implements, and from whom did they learn the art of the blacksmith?

In Kamchatka, Krasheninnikoff[4] heard stories to the effect that the Kamchadal were familiar with iron implements before they ever met the Russians. According to these stories, the Kamchadal used to get Japanese iron objects by barter from the Kurilians. Of course, this is possible; but there cannot have been any great amount of barter and no regular exchange between these tribes at that period. In this manner iron tools could have come into the hands of the Kamchadal in but very limited quantities, and would have become the property of a few fortunate families only. It seems important to note that while the tribes of northeastern Asia were still in the stone age, not only were nations as highly civilized as the Japanese and Chinese acquainted with iron, but even certain tribes of the Amur region,

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[1] See Part I, Plate VI. [2] See pp. 569, 608.

[3] See H. Grimm, Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Korpokguru auf Yeso und Bemerkungen über die Shikotan Aino (Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens in Tokio, Band V, pp. 369–373).

[4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 49.

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326 177 412 and the Yakut, had been working it for a long time. Thus we may readily conceive that long before the Koryak and other northern natives met with the Russians, iron tools had come into the hands of those tribes through a long series of exchanges. Thus, for instance, on the Kolyma tundra I heard members of a northern Yukaghir clan tell, that, previous to the arrival of the Russians, they had had an iron axe, the property of the whole clan, which was in the keeping of "the Old Man," and was carried over the whole tundra whenever there happened to be need anywhere of knocking down or cutting in two a thick stout tree, which it was very hard to do with stone axes. An acquaintance of this kind, or even of a somewhat higher degree, may have existed also among the Koryak. They may have obtained iron objects, on the one hand from a Japanese source,[1] through the Kurilians and Kamchadal;[2] on the other hand, from a Manchurian-Chinese source, through the Tungus. According to historical data, based on reports of the Cossacks who had reached the mouth of the Okhota River in 1652, the Tungus living there were armed with iron and bone weapons, and clad in iron armor.[3] There is still a third source from which, during the pre-Russian period, iron objects may have been derived. I refer to the Yakut who represent the Mongol-Turkish people, who not only knew the metal and the art of forging it, but also the art of smelting iron from iron ores.[4]

Iron armor,[5] which supplanted the older leather or bone armor, or was still in use alongside of them, has, in my opinion, been known to the Koryak prior to their meeting with the Russians.

326 174 Let us now turn to the question of the beginning of blacksmithing among the Koryak. From which tribe did the Koryak learn to forge iron? To answer this question, too, is not easy. But since only in barter can there be intermediaries between producer and consumer, while in learning a trade

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[1] The Japanese armor found by Bogoras among the Chukchee in the northern tundra must evidently have reached there through pre-Russian commercial exchange (see Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, pp. 54, 164, and Fig. 85).

[2] The Cossacks who were sent from Anadyr in 1696 to conquer Kamchatka found Japanese documents in the Koryak dwellings of North Kamchatka. A little later they discovered, near Tighil, a Japanese vessel that had been wrecked (see Slovtsoff, Historical Survey of Siberia, p. 136). This points to the possibility of occasional but direct intercourse in the past between the Koryak and Japanese.

[3] See Supplement to the Judicial Acts, III, pp. 333, 334.

[4] For data concerning the rôle of the Turkish tribes (to which the Yakut belong) in spreading the knowledge of iron-work in Siberia, see R. Andree, Die Metalle bei den Naturvölkern mit Berücksichtigungen prähistorischer Verhältnisse (Leipsig, 1884), pp. 126, 127. Popoff (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1878, p. 461), in referring to the statement (mentioned by me in the text) concerning the iron weapons and armor of the Okhotsk Tungus at their first meeting with the Russians, expresses the opinion that the Okhotsk Tungus had become acquainted with iron objects through the Yakut; but considering the fact that the Yakut are comparatively recent arrivals in the extreme northeast of Siberia, and that the northern Tungus are supposed to have come north prior to the Yakut, from the district of the Amur River, it may be fully admitted that their acquaintance with iron, in one way or another, is more ancient, and derived ultimately from a Manchurian-Chinese source. Even in the most ancient European statements concerning the ancient Manchurians, who are kindred to the Tungus, mention is made of their helmets and cuirasses made of scale-like iron plates fastened to one another with nails, or arranged on a skin foundation (on this question see Schrenck, II, p. 259, and his references to Nenhof and Witsen).

[5] See Fig. 98, p. 562; and Plate XXIX, Fig. 1.

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direct intercourse with the master artisan is required, the Koryak could have learned the blacksmith's trade only from the Russians or Tungus. Though we possess no direct information proving that the Koryak knew how to forge iron prior to their meeting with the Russians, certain devices, as we shall see later on, do not preclude the possibility of this art having been adopted by the Koryak from the Tungus previous to the advent of the Russians to the region.

Along with the statements that ready-made iron tools from the sources mentioned reached the Kamchadal, Koryak, Chukchee, and Yukaghir even previous to the Russian period, we also have some information which proves that the beginning of the art of iron-forging among these peoples must be assigned to a later period. From certain sources we learn that the fragments of metal and pieces of ore which reached the northern tribes by chance, while they were still in the stone age, were objects of special reverence, even of religious cult. Even at that time they knew that from these hard substances other peoples made knives, axes, and spears.

Wrangel's companion, Matyushkin,[1] states that according to a story related by a Yukaghir, the Omoki, the forefathers of the Yukaghir, were familiar with the use of iron before the advent of the Russians. In another place[2] he tells of ancient Yukaghir graves erected on posts which seemed to him to have been made with stone axes. In these, pieces of iron, brass, and copper, like the ornaments on shamans' dresses, were found.

According to Steller,[3] the Kamchadal paid homage to pieces of iron obtained from the Kurilian Ainu. The iron was set up on a pole in front of the dwelling, as a proof of the wealth and special importance of its owner. We also possess some information that the Kamchadal, as well as the Koryak and Chukchee, knew the art of hammering fragments of metal. "They do not temper iron," says Krasheninnikoff, "but, placing it cold on the stone, they forge it with a stone instead of a hammer." Thus they used to make spears and arrows from iron fragments, burned-out kettles, or even new iron kettles bought of the Russians for this special purpose. If the eye of a needle broke, they used to flatten the broken end and drill a new eye with another needle.[4]

From whomsoever the Koryak may have learned to forge iron, — from the Tungus or Russians, — the development of blacksmithing into a steady industry among them was hampered by lack of material and of tools. Peoples that work iron, but who cannot smelt ore, or in whose territory there

[1] See Wrangel, Reise II, p. 6.

[2] Ibid., II, p. 137.

[3] Steller, p. 320. See also Krasheninnikoff's statement (II, p. 47) that every Kamchadal possessing a fragment of iron was deemed rich and lucky.

[4] See Krasheninnikoff, I, p. 48. All these devices of working iron are known even now among the Chukchee, and also among the Koryak in out-of-the-way places.

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are no beds of ore, depend, in the development of blacksmithing, upon the tribes that know how to smelt iron from ore.[1] Excepting the Yakut, who came to the north in comparatively recent times, the civilized nations nearest to the Koryak that have developed the art of metallurgy — the Japanese and Chinese — were separated from them by tribes which, even if they did adopt from the former the art of blacksmithing, did not learn the art of mining. Thus, leaving out the Kamchadal, — from a technical point of view, evidently a tribe less gifted than the Koryak, — the Koryak were separated from the Japanese by the Ainu and Gilyak, who, as Schrenck has proved,[2] had acquired the blacksmith's art from the Japanese. From the Chinese and from the Yakut the Koryak were separated by Tungus tribes.

According to historical data, the first Russian conquerors of Siberia not infrequently had blacksmiths in their parties; but when compelled to work ores, they often had recourse to natives expert in this line of work, such as the Tartar and Yakut.[3] In the seventeenth century the higher authorities of Siberia more than once addressed to the Moscow Government requests to send "experts on ores" to Siberia.

During the early times of the conquest of Siberia, the Russian Government forbade the selling of arms, powder, and lead to those natives who were as yet unpacified. Krasheninnikoff says of the Kamchadal[4] that it was forbidden to sell them iron tools and copper dishes, lest they might make side-arms for use against the Russians. Such conditions could not advance the development of the art of metal-working among those natives of Siberia who previous to that period had not been familiar with it.

Of course, the blacksmith's art could develop among the Koryak only after the Russians began to sell tools freely and to import iron as material for manufacturing tools. At present the Russian Government, among other things, keeps bar and block iron and tools in the depot established in the village of Kushka (the residence of the chief of the district), at the mouth of the Gishiga River, to be sold to the natives of the Gishiga district at a price equal to the cost price in Vladivostok plus transport expenses by steamer to Gishiga.

It is difficult to say exactly when blacksmithing developed as a regular home industry among the Koryak. We find the first printed data concerning the Koryak as blacksmiths in Dittmar's[5] descriptions. These refer to the middle of the nineteenth century.

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[1] On the location of iron-beds in the Kamchadal and Koryak territories, see Krasheninnikoff, I, p. 304; Pallas, Neue nordische Beiträge, 1793, V, p. 271; Dittmar, pp. 281, 363.

[2] See Schrenck, II, p. 255.

[3] See, for example, Slovtzoff, Historical Survey of Siberia, pp. 43, 88.

[4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 48.

[5] See Dittmar, Die Korjaken, p. 11.

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171 32 the Koryak. True, Steller and Krasheninnikoff[4] visited them after they had been considerably influenced by Russian culture; but, in speaking of the ancient Kamchadal method of cooking food, they mention only boiling in wooden troughs by means of red-hot stones, and there is nowhere in the writings of these authors a reference to clay vessels. Schrenck considers the absence of pottery among the Kamchadal as proved.[1]

171 252 I have found accounts which stated that the Koryak also used red-hot stones for boiling. However, in these statements I do not see any contradiction to the fact that there are traces of the existence of pottery among them. The latter, to my mind, seems a later invention than boiling by means of red-hot stones; but, even after the invention of pottery, cooking by means of red-hot stones might have continued.

171 174 323 But as iron kettles were acquired, the manufacture of clay pots probably disappeared earlier than the custom of boiling with stones in troughs, as may have been the case with the Kam-

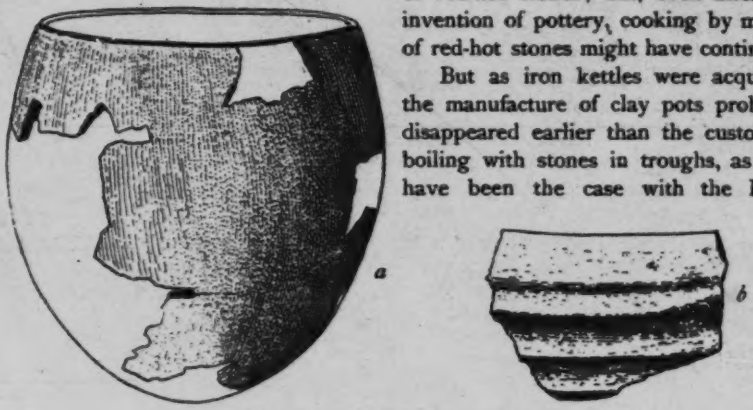


Fig. 165, *a* ($\frac{1}{11}\frac{1}{10}$), Pottery Vessel; *b* ($\frac{7}{11}\frac{7}{10}$), Rim of Pottery Vessel.

chadal. Witsen[2] states, based on information given by Cossacks, that the Kamchadal used to make clay vessels. In an old underground Kamchadal dwelling, Dittmar found "small clay vessels" of most primitive workmanship. "The clay crumbled under the hands, it had evidently been badly (if at all) baked," says Dittmar. As the pots were saturated with blubber, Dittmar thinks it possible that they had been lamps, and not cooking-pots;[3] but this opinion may be offset by the shape and size, especially the depth, of the pots found.[4] Besides, in another passage, Dittmar quotes the tale of an old Kamchadal who brought to him the stone implements that he had dug out

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[1] Schrenck, II, p. 140.

[2] See Witsen, Noord en Oust Tartarye, 1705, p. 673.

[3] See Dittmar, p. 213.

[4] Dittmar gives the following measurements of the pots: upper diameter, 12 cm.; lower, 10 cm.; maximum width, 14 cm.; depth, 10 cm. This vessel, therefore, had an aperture smaller in diameter than the middle part, and its bottom was still smaller than the aperture. Clay lamps are of different shape (see Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Figs. 102, 103, pp. 185, 186; Nelson, Plate XXVIII). Nelson gives 2¾ inches (i. e., less than 7 cm.) as the depth of two lamps (Nelson, p. 64). The Koryak stone lamps (see p. 566) are 4–6 cm. deep.

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171 of ancient underground houses, and who said that potsherds of coarse clay
● 174 vessels are often found among other objects in excavating ancient underground
323 dwellings on the eastern coast of Kamchatka.[1]

Lastly, the Gishiga Cossacks, who often visit Kamchatka on duty, told me personally that they came across the same kind of sherds of clay pots as I found in the ruins of ancient Koryak houses.

At present neither the Gilyak and Ainu, nor the Kamchadal and Koryak, make clay pots. Schrenck expresses the opinion that even in antiquity this art was unknown to the Gilyak and Ainu.[2] Concerning the statement of the Japanese traveller Mamia Rinso, that the Gilyak on Saghalin manufactured clay ware resembling that of the Chinese and Japanese, Schrenck supposes that this art was introduced by the Chinese and Japanese at a quite recent date, and has been lost again. On the other hand, Schrenck finds that the potsherds collected by Pfeiffer, Lopatin, and Polyakoff in various parts of the Amur region and in Saghalin, samples of which were in his hands, were so old as to have no ethnological connection whatever with the tribes inhabiting the region at the present time.[3]

114 Leo Sternberg, the latest student of the Gilyak tribe, in his brief pre-
174 liminary sketch of the Gilyak, published in the "Ethnographical Review,"[4] ex-
323 presses an opinion concerning the ancient Gilyak pottery identical with that of Schrenck. In his opinion, the Gilyak were not familiar with pottery. Further on, I shall briefly touch upon his arguments. The Gilyak themselves call the remains of the ancient underground dwellings on Saghalin Island, where the potsherds were found, kugi-tulkč, which means "Ainu little pits;" i. e., the Gilyak attribute them to the Ainu. Following the course of his arguments, Sternberg further supposes that these little pits did not belong to the ancestors of the present Ainu either, for the Saghalin Ainu themselves attribute them to another people by the name of Tonchi.[5]

Here I reach a question interesting in the highest degree, — the question, Who were the ancient inhabitants of Japan and of the underground dwellings in Yezo and other places, — the Ainu, or another pre-Ainu people? This question divides Japanese and other investigators into two camps. Of the Japanese scholars, Professor Koganei especially, espouses the former view; Professor Tsuboi, the latter. Concerning Saghalin, my friend Dr. Sternberg apparently seems to side with Tsuboi; while Dr. Laufer, a member of our

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[1] See Dittmar, p. 189.

[2] See Schrenck, II, p. 139. Schrenck, by the way, expresses the opinion that pottery was unknown to any of the so-called palæ-Asiatic peoples, with the exception of the Eskimo. He supposes that the Eskimo came to America from Asia, and classes them among the palæ-Asiatics; but this opinion, as we see, is utterly refuted by the facts.

[3] See Schrenck, II, p. 141.

[4] See Sternberg, The Gilyak (Ethnographical Review, published by the Ethnographical Section of the Imperial Society of Friends of Natural History, Anthropology and Ethnography, Moscow, 1904, Parts 1, 2, 3).

[5] Ethnographical Review, 1904, I, p. 5.

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114 174 323 expedition, expresses views in harmony with Professor Koganei's.[1] Of the recent works devoted to this question, one of especial interest is Professor Koganei's excellent article, "Ueber die Urbewohner Japans."[2]

I can touch upon this question only so far as it bears upon pottery. 323 171 174 On the one hand, remnants of primitive pottery have been discovered on the Chukchee Peninsula, in Baron Korff's Bay,[3] in Kamchatka, on the coasts of the Okhotsk Sea and its bays, on the Kurilian Islands, at the mouth of the Amur, on the islands Saghalin and Yezo; on the other hand, the Eskimo of northwestern America even now make clay pots, and have left traces of this art which existed among them in the past.[4]

Whether pottery was known to the Aleut, we do not know as yet. Veniaminoff says that the clay vessels he saw among the Aleut had been obtained by them from the Russians.[5] In the description of the articles found by Dall[6] in the grave caves of the Aleut, we find no remains of clay vessels; but until archæological investigations have been undertaken in the Aleutian Islands, it cannot be asserted that pottery was unknown to the Aleut. Judging by the results of our expedition, the Indians of the North Pacific coast never had pottery.[7]

Territorially speaking, we have thus found, so far, that pottery in its primitive stage was widespread on the northern coasts of the Pacific Ocean from the islands of Japan around almost to the coast strip of southern Alaska.

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[1] See Berthold Laufer. Die Angeblichen Urvölker von Yezo und Sakhalin (Centralblatt für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, Jena, 1900. Band V, Heft 6).

[2] Mittheilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Tokio, 1903, IX, pp. 297–330.

[3] Bogoras (The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 186) says that certain potsherds found by him in the ancient "jaw-bone houses" are thinner than the above-mentioned clay lamps and kettles, and point to another type of clay pots in the past.

[4] Thus we have Baron Wrangell's statements of the beginnings of the nineteenth century, that the Eskimo in Alaska made pots (Wrangell. Statist. und ethnog. Nachrichten über die Russischen Besitzungen an der Nordwestküste von Amerika. St. Petersburg, 1839, p. 147); Dall's information concerning the seventies of the last century (Dall, Alaska and its Resources. London, 1870, p. 218) and the present-day information of Nelson (Nelson, The Eskimo about Bering Strait, pp. 201, 202). Concerning the inhabitants of the island Kadyak, we possess the following information, dating from the beginning of the last century: "From clay they make fire-pots, in which they melt whale fat. Formerly they could also bake pots, but now this art is lost, possibly for the reason that they found our kettles more convenient" (see Voyages to America of the Naval Officers, Khvostoff and Davydoff, St. Petersburg, 1812, Vol. II. p. 104). Krasheninnikoff (II, p. 305) states that the Konyag of Kadyak cooked meat in clay pots. At the end of the last century Murdoch found on Point Barrow fragments of pottery which, according to him, existed earlier than iron kettles (Murdoch, pp. 91, 92). G. B. Gordon, in his Notes on the Western Eskimo (Transactions of the Department of Archæology, University of Pennsylvania, 1906, Vol. II, Part I, p. 83), based on data collected by the expedition sent to Alaska in the summer of 1905 by the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, states that at present the art of pottery has died out among the western Eskimo, but the older people still remember the time when lamps and cooking-vessels were made of clay. Plates XXIII and XXIV of the same paper show different types of clay vessels of the western Eskimo.

[5] Veniaminoff, Notes on the Unalashka District, Part II, p. 239.

[6] Dall. On the Remains of Prehistoric Man obtained from Caves in the Catherine Archipelago, Alaska Territory and especially from the Caves of the Aleutian Islands (Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, 1878, Vol. XXII).

[7] This conclusion is based on the results of the excavations made by Mr. Smith at the mouth of the Fraser River, in the southern part of Vancouver Island, and on the coast of Washington; but it would be very important to extend the archæologic investigations also to other parts of the coast-line between the Alaskan Eskimo and Columbia River and the interior Athapascans, in order to draw a final conclusion.

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As to the question what tribes have left remains of this art, there is still disagreement in the majority of cases. That the clay pots, of which potsherds have been found by me in Koryak territory, were made by the recent ancestors of the Koryak, there can be no doubt. The same may be said in regard to the Alaskan Eskimo, but here is involved the question of their original gradual distribution. So far as mythology is concerned, I have accepted Professor Boas's theory that the Eskimo came to the coasts of the Pacific Ocean from the east.[1] In questions of somatology we have some data pointing to the change of the physical type of the Eskimo from the east westward, as we approach nearer and nearer to the Pacific Ocean.[2]

The central and eastern Eskimo had lamps of soapstone, but we find no indication that they now can or formerly could make clay pots. If we consider as correct the theory that the Alaskan Eskimo came from the east, and that their physical nature and their traditions have changed in the new locality under the influence of the Indians, then they may have adopted the art of making pottery, too, after their arrival on the coasts of the Pacific Ocean, from the former aborigines, as their eastern fellow-tribesmen evidently did not know this art.[3] I should remark that I bring forward these considerations only as an attempt at solving the question concerning the primitive culture of the Asiatic-American tribes.

Regarding the Ainu, it is impossible, it seems to me, not to agree with the considerations of Koganei, that the pits on Yezo, Saghalin, and the Kurilian Islands, which contain the potsherds now holding our interest, are remnants of the dwellings of the ancestors of the modern Ainu. For the Gilyak, we must for the present accept the opinion of Sternberg, — the best authority on this tribe, — who argues that the Gilyak are new-comers on Saghalin Island and at the mouth of the Amur, and suggests that they may have been neighbors of the Aleut.[4] Still one cannot help remarking that Sternberg's chief arguments offered as proof that the clay potsherds from the "little pits" on Saghalin belong to neither the ancestors of the Gilyak nor to the ancient Ainu,[5] are identical with the arguments of Tsuboi concerning the last-mentioned tribe alone.[6] These arguments consist in the following. In the myths there are no allusions whatever to the former use of pottery by the Gilyak or Ainu; on the contrary, the traditions of both tribes attribute this art to other tribes, the Gilyak attributing it to the Ainu. The Ainu of

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[1] See Part I, p. 359.

[2] See Dina Jochelson-Brodsky, Zur Topographie des weiblichen Körpers nordostsibirischer Völker (Doctor's Dissertation of the University of Zürich), Braunschweig, 1906.

[3] Unfortunately, no archæological researches have been made in the territory of the northern Athapascans and Tlingit.

[4] If this supposition should prove correct, the finding of remains of pottery on the Aleutian territory would be of importance.

[5] See Sternberg, The Gilyak (Ethnographical Review, I, p. 5).

[6] See Koganei, Ueber die Urbewohner Japans, pp. 302, 309.

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Yezo, on their part, attribute this art to the mythical tribe Koropokguru, while the Ainu of Saghalin claim that the mythical tribe Tonchi made the pots which have been found in the ruins of underground dwellings.[1] He also thinks that if the Gilyak and Ainu had known this art before, it would not have been lost.

I shall not expatiate upon the linguistic interpretation of the words "Tonchi" and "Koropokguru," which may be found in the works referred to.[2] I wish only to remark that oral tradition cannot take the place of history if it does not agree with the data of archæology, physical anthropology, linguistics, and comparative culture. In the last-named respects much remains to be done, but what has already been done with reference to the Ainu completely proves that the Koropokguru are the ancestors of the present Ainu. It is enough to read the description of the contemporary underground dwellings of the Ainu on Shikotan to come to the conclusion that after their destruction they would form the same kind of pits as we still find on Yezo.[3] It is quite possible that the names handed down by tradition of what purports to be vanished tribes are but the ancient names of territorial groups or clans of one or another of the now existing tribes, just as I have been able to prove concerning the so-called vanished tribes of the Khodintsi, Omoki, Kongienisi, etc., of the Kolyma region,[4] that they are not vanished tribes, but ancient local names of the divisions of the Yukaghir tribe.

The present-day absence of pottery among the Ainu and Gilyak cannot be proof that they never had it formerly, either. We possess many proofs, and among others my own data collected among the Koryak, that pottery may disappear with the advent of metal utensils.[5] Likewise nothing is proved by the absence of any mention of pottery in the myths. The memory of peoples that possess no knowledge of writing is, on the whole, very short with reference to facts relating to their past life. To give an instance, I was surprised when the Arctic Yakut who came to the extreme north very recently did not know, when questioned by me on this point, that their ancestors had

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[1] It should be remarked that so far no traditions ascribing them to mythical tribes have sprung up with reference to the potsherds found in 1865 in the excavations of underground dwellings at the mouth of the Amur (see Schrenck, II p. 141), and to the remnants of such dwellings between Khabarovsk and the mouth of the Amur (see Laufer, Die angeblichen Urvölker von Yezo und Sakhalin, in Centralblatt für Anthrop., Ethnol. und Urgeschichte, 5. Jahrgang, Heft 6, p. 329).

[2] See Laufer, Die angeblichen Urvölker von Yezo und Sakhalin, etc., p. 325; Kogami, Ueber die Urbewohner Japans, pp. 314, 315.

[3] See Grimm, Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Koropokguru auf Yezo u. Bemerkungen über die Shikotan-Ainu (1890/); Hitchcock, The Ancient Pit-Dwellers of Yezo. Japan (Washington, 1892).

[4] See Jochelson, On the Question of the Vanished Tribes of the Kolyma District (Bulletin of the East Siberian Section of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society, Irkutsk, 1897', Vol. XXVIII, Part I).

[5] On the disappearance of pottery among the eastern Indians of North America, upon the arrival of the whites, see Charles Rau, The Archæological Collection of the United States National Museum (Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, Washington, 1876, Vol. XXII, p. 73). Concerning the inhabitants of the island Kadyak and the western Eskimo, see p. 642, Footnote 4. There are indications that in southern Siberia, primitive pottery was forgotten and lost by the local inhabitants about the time of the arrival of the Russians (see D. Klements, The Antiquities of the Minusinsk Museum, Tomsk, 1886, p. 65).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4



Chukchee. Although some samples of Indian art among the collections of the Amerian Museum of Natural History are proof of the ability of Indian artists to give their carvings quite a realistic and artistic expression of animal forms,[1] yet the general tendency of the Indian art of carving is purely symbolic, aiming principally at bringing out the most characteristic parts of the body of the animal at the expense of its other parts, and of a realistic presentation of the animal as a whole.

The carvings of the western neighbors of the Koryak, the Tungus and the Yakut, can in no wise be compared with their own. The former lack all artistic merit. Taking as a fair sample the collection of Yakut carvings obtained by me, consisting of figures of animals or human beings made from mammoth-tusks, we find it to consist of rigid figures having only an outward resemblance to men and animals. The artist was unable to put life and motion into them. It is seldom that any of the Yakut can carve even such crude figures. Near Yakutsk, for instance, two or three Yakut are known to turn out open-work from mammoth-ivory. They also turn out rigid realistic carvings of the kind I am describing. They make combs and boxes from mammoth-ivory, ornamented with open-work carving. Yet these articles are rather products of mechanical art, made to meet the demand of the Russians, than works of art for art's sake.

The art of the Yakut, principally their decorative art, is of purely Central Asiatic, Chinese, or Russian origin, and consists of curves, spirals, and conventionalized animals and plants. Only the enormous wooden kumiss goblets and cups, from which the Yakut drink, and make sacrificial libations during the religious kumiss festivals, are supplied with primitive technical ornamentation, judging by the Yakut names of the carved figures.[2]

When we speak of Koryak or Chukchee carvings, it should be added that we refer to the Maritime people only. The Reindeer Koryak, with very few exceptions, have not developed that art. This is not due to the fact that the reindeer-breeders have no æsthetic tastes, but to their lack of the necessary leisure. The Maritime Koryak, on the contrary, spend the winter almost idly in a more or less warm house, and have sufficient time to indulge in the pleasure derived from the art of carving. The same reason may be advanced to explain why only the men engage in carving: the women are too busy with the household, and apply their æsthetic taste to the ornamentation of their dresses.

It is worth noting, that, among the Koryak carvings, we seldom find figures of reindeer, and the few we do find are poorly executed. The conclusion might be drawn from this, that fondness for carving developed among

[1] See Boas, Decorative Art of the Indians of the North Pacific Coast (Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., IX, p. 125).

[2] See Jochelson, Kumiss Festivals of the Yakut and the Decoration of Kumiss Vessels (Boas Anniversary Volume, New-York, Stechert, 1906, pp. 257–271).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4



532 174 the Koryak before the beginning of reindeer-breeding, and that through force of habit the artists used for their models principally objects of maritime life.

The carvings of the Maritime Koryak along the shores of Bering Sea — the Alutor people and those on the rivers Opuka and Poqač — are more artistic than those of the inhabitants on the shores of Penshina Bay. The latter, moreover, lack such material as walrus-tusks, since walrus are not found in their home: and the artists there have to be content mainly with wood, and have to obtain their walrus-ivory through barter.

532 517 Among the objects of Koryak miniature sculpture are not only quadrupeds, birds, fish, and other animals, but also human beings. The artists render the figures of human beings or of animals in the round or in relief, mostly in high-relief mounted on a base.

*Carvings representing Men.* — In carvings representing men, wrestling-matches or the beating of drums, as well as hunting-scenes, are most frequently selected, on account of the animated motions of these actions. In wrestling, as well as in domestic shamanism or in the beating of drums for their own pleasure, men strip to the belt. This is the form in which the artist strives to present vividly the human body. Female figures are carved less frequently,

Fig. 166. *a* ($\frac{1}{1}\frac{0}{0}\frac{0}{3}$). *b* ($\frac{1}{1}\frac{0}{0}\frac{0}{3}$). Wood-Carvings representing Wrestlers. From Mikino. Height, 7.5 cm., 14.5 cm.

and always dressed. Unlike the Chukchee women, the Koryak women do not strip at home. Besides, the realistic presentation of the female body is much more difficult than that of the male, and it is also more difficult to put life into the figure of a human being clothed than into a nude figure. The striving of the Koryak artists toward the realistic presentation of the human form pertains mainly to the upper part of the body. The curves of the back and the tension of the muscles are very strikingly reproduced in ivory by good artists. The Koryak artist does not take the trouble to finish off in detail the feet of men or of animals. Human heads are more poorly finished than are those of animals.

Let us begin with the less artistic models from the shores of Penshina Bay.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4



only remark that I consider the thrashing of the groom as the final act in testing his adroitness, bravery, and endurance, and not as a symbolic remnant of marriage by capture.

Of course, along with the other methods of obtaining wives, the Koryak, in former times, resorted to carrying away women, or taking away by force both girls and married women, I have spoken of the "wife-snatcher-strong-men."[1] In Koryak mythology we find some tales of girls being carried away by force. In one tale[2] Big-Raven, the ancestor of the Koryak, carries off a girl from the kamak for his son Eme'mqut; and in another[3] Eme'mqut himself steals the daughter of the kamak. But if we take into consideration that among the Koryak marriage is rather endogamic than exogamic, and that in war the conquerors usually slew the children of the vanquished lest they should grow up to become avengers, and their women lest they should bear avengers,[4] it seems plausible that the custom of capturing wives from foreign tribes or clans never prevailed among the Koryak to any extent.

Marriage is accompanied by neither feast nor shamanistic ceremonies. The daughter and the son-in-law either leave at once for the young man's house, or they remain for some time in her father's house. In some localities, after a successful "bride-seizing," the bridegroom goes home and sends his parents, or other elder relatives, to fetch the bride. When the bride approaches the house of her bridegroom's parents, the latter come out with firebrands taken from the hearth to meet her. This reception symbolizes the acceptance of the bride into the family cult which the hearth represents. Beyond her clothes and appurtenances for woman's work, the bride brings almost nothing into her father-in-law's house. The bed and sleeping-tent for the couple are prepared by the bridegroom's family. However, the bride brings along presents of clothing, meat, and other things, for the bridegroom's mother and sisters, and her own reindeer if she be a Reindeer Koryak. If the bride is the first daughter-in-law in the house, the mother-in-law usually hands the whole household over to her care, and interferes only if the daughter-in-law proves to be an inexperienced housewife. On entering the house, the bride immedately sets out to prepare the meal. The Maritime Koryak do not invite any guests, and the meal has purely a family character. Among the Reindeer Koryak, at the meeting of the bride, one or several reindeer are sacrificed to The-Master-on-High and his son, Cloud-Man, protector of married couples.[5] From one myth[6] it appears that non-performance of this duty brings punishment from the deity. In former times the bridegroom's mother or elder brother used to anoint the bride's forehead and abdomen with the blood of the sacrificial reindeer. This, too, evidently meant the adoption of the bride into the new family, and her introduction to the new hearth, by means of sacrificial

[1] See pp. 561 and 754; and Part I, pp. 140, 145, 227. [2] See Part I, p. 210. [3] Ibid., p. 324.
[4] See Chapter XIII. [5] See Part I, pp. 26, 93. [6] Ibid., p. 300.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

## XIII. — SOCIAL LIFE.

ANCIENT FORMS OF SOCIAL LIFE. — Social units, in the sense of organized tribal or gentile groups, do not exist among the Koryak. The agnatic family is the social unit. We do, however, find certain facts which seem to indicate the incipient formation of social groups exceeding the limits of a large patriarchal family. One such element, as I have stated before, is the relationship through marriage. Families which enter into such relationships thereby assume certain reciprocal material and moral obligations. 571 596

In those customs of the Koryak which refer to social relations, two antithetical tendencies are clearly discernible. One of these tendencies, which we might call anti-social, furthers the isolation of family groups of blood-relatives. The other tendency, on the contrary, develops the germs of a broader social organization. This antagonism in the social life of the Koryak was more marked before the advent of the Russians. Natural evolution would undoubtedly have led to an increasing predominance of the social element. Under the influence of the Russians, however, the social structure of the Koryak has degenerated. All antagonism having become obliterated, their present social life is colorless, and an independent development of social forms can no longer be expected. 178 578

I shall attempt to reconstruct the ancient social life of the Koryak from traditions as well as from still discernible survivals of the past. Constant wars, not only with other peoples, but between the separate groups of the Koryak themselves, and the ravages of blood-revenge between the families, rendered life insecure. Every stranger was regarded as a possible enemy. If an unknown man appeared in the settlement or the camp, he was at once asked where he came from, his weapons were inspected, and he was forced into a contest in order that his strength and agility might be ascertained. Then only was he admitted to the house. I was told of an ancient Koryak brave who, before attacking a man, would appear before him in disguise, in a miserable condition, his clothes in rags, and carrying a poor bow. In the ensuing contest he would defend himself but feebly, trying meanwhile to find out the strength of his adversary. During the contests at feasts, the warriors of the various settlements would carefully note each other's strength and methods, in order to profit by the knowledge thus obtained when real feuds would arise. 174 621 609

The attitude towards an outsider as an enemy or ill-wisher found expression not only in the fear of physical injury, but also in the fear of the evil 771 609

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4



771 609 influence of his ill-wishing eye, wicked tongue or word. To prevent such magical influences, the stranger was not admitted to the family hearth, or the inmates would guard themselves against him by invoking the aid of protectors. These were either special idols or any other objects of the household.[1]

784 609 The hearth, as the chief protector of the family, was tabooed to the outsider. Equally inaccessible to all but relatives were the family drum and the sacred fire-drill. A kettle from a strange house could not be placed on the fire of the hearth, nor could the kettle be taken out of the house to another's fire. The drum and the fires of the hearth were never taken to a strange house, and only members of the family were allowed to touch the fire-drill. At present, as we shall see later, all these taboos have lost much of their force, but when strictly observed they must have exercised a hampering influence on the development of social life.

(771) These anti-social customs have to be attributed partly to the sense of insecurity, and partly to religious beliefs; but I am also able to indicate certain incipient tendencies towards a higher social status than the one represented by the family organization.

619 In the first place, the tradition of Big-Raven as a common ancestor generates the idea of ethnic unity. True, this idea exists but dimly in the consciousness of the Koryak. The partitive terms "the Reindeer Man," "the Maritime Man," the inhabitant of this or that settlement or camp, are more congenial to his mind than the collective term "Koryak,"[2] as a member of a unified people; but when I invited comparisons between the Koryak and the Tungus or the Yakut, the former drew the conclusion that the Koryak were of one blood, while the Tungus and the Yakut were foreigners. On the other hand, the Maritime Koryak considers himself more closely related to the Maritime Koryak than to the Reindeer Koryak, and *vice versâ*. This separation of the two groups of Koryak is fostered by the different forms of the household.

621 174 In ancient times the settlements of the Maritime Koryak were not mere territorial groups, but associations of households, the inmates of which were united by ties of common rights and obligations. New settlements were habitually founded by men who had left the original villages, — men of independent character who had gained equal prominence as good warriors and as clever hunters. Around these leaders groups of men of ordinary abilities would settle, mostly relatives by blood or marriage, but occasionally also strangers seeking the protection of the founder of the settlement. Thus the settlement had no tendency to develop into a gens whose members traced their descent to a common ancestor, but presented a union of related or friendly families with an elder at the head. Neither in traditions nor in other

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[1] See Part I, p. 32.

[2] See p. 407.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4



tales do we find any trace of the representative principle before the advent of the Russians. The principle of seniority dominated in the settlement as well as in the family. By seniority we must not understand greater age alone, but also greater physical strength. Aged weaklings were not considered. As long as no stronger man appeared, the founder of the settlement was the elder. The sacred post[1] erected by him was regarded as the guardian of the entire settlement. The strong man always had several wives and many children, and after his death his family continued to dominate in the settlement. In the reports of the Cossacks who fought the Koryak, mention is made of the elders of settlements. There the Yakut name Toyon is given them, which name in Yakut also means the representative of a clan or gens. The Koryak called them E'yem, which means "the strong one." What the power of these leaders was cannot be gathered from these reports; but they relate that the settlements would at times combine into defensive and offensive unions, as was the case during the uprisings of the Koryak against the Russian conquerors. What part was played in the formation of these unions by the E'yems, what part by the mass of the Koryak, we do not know. During battles the extreme authority was vested in the "strong men" and the good warriors, but leadership in war was not always accorded to the elder in times of peace.

The family shamans and the professional shamans, who regulated the family cult and the general religious life of the people, enjoyed a position of a certain prominence in social affairs. Often the "elders" and "braves" themselves possessed shamanistic powers, or they kept shaman helpers, whose magic assisted them in their combats with enemies.

The fortification of a settlement[2] was the concern of all its inhabitants. I have spoken before of the guardians of settlements and of the communal character of the whale festival.[3] It is very probable that in ancient times special houses were set apart in the villages for gatherings and feasts. In describing the whale festival[4] I pointed out that the celebrations took place in the largest house of the village, that the fire of the hearth was kept alive by wood supplied by each and every one of the participating families, the beds and sleeping-tents having previously been carried out of doors. Thus the dwelling was temporarily transformed into a public house, the family hearth became a communal hearth, and all the inhabitants of the settlement cooked their meals at its fire. I saw another public house at the fair in the Palpal. This house was a large skin tent built by all the Reindeer Koryak who had come to the fair.[5] In one myth[6] we are told that in the centre of the kalau settlement a large house was situated, where the kalau were gathered for a council.

We find another manifestation of social tendencies in the still surviving

[1] See Part I, Fig. 4, p. 37. [2] See p. 563. [3] See Part I, p. 67.
[4] Ibid., p. 71. [5] See p. 451; also Plate XIX, Fig. 2. [6] See Part I, p. 314, No. 114.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4



The Koryak extend their friendship also to the Russians, whose presents generally consist of tea, tobacco, baked bread, biscuits, flour, and other imported articles.

A Koryak, on his arrival in a settlement or camp, makes his headquarters in the house or tent of a friend, and while there partakes of the meals as a member of the family. The lads feed his dogs or guard his reindeer. Among the Maritime Koryak a place is reserved for his bed on the platform in the front part of the subterranean house, while among the Reindeer Koryak he passes the night in the host's own sleeping-tent or in a separate sleeping-tent. In ancient times the "friends" were met with fire from the hearth, obviously in demonstration of the amicable feelings of the hearth as the family protector, and of the host. At the present time, these friends, as all other visitors, are met with the greeting "Eh, ye'ti!" which means simply "Ah, thou hast come!" to which the visitor answers, "Ye'ti."

Clearly, the fraternities as a social institution have a utilitarian basis; but we also find certain manifestations of a social feeling of altruistic character. Thus the announcement of the death of a member of the family, made by the relatives to all the inhabitants of the settlement or of the surrounding camps, is obviously intended as a warning of the danger from evil spirits, which caused the death. The neighbors thus informed at once take protective measures.[1]

As a rule, material support is offered by the more prosperous only to relatives. In times of famine, however, the provisions are divided indiscriminately among all the inhabitants of the settlement who are in need.

If we disregard for a moment the influence of the Russians on the social life of the Koryak, it can, I think, be asserted that the independent development of social forms among the Maritime Koryak could hardly have reached the stage at which the nobility and the common people would appear as two sharply defined hereditary classes. The brave warrior and the clever hunter, who, as a rule, ranked above the masses as protectors and providers of the group, lost their influential positions during famines in years when huntin and fishing had been unsuccessful. Not so with the Reindeer Koryak.

The concentration of fortunes in the form of large herds in the hands of single individuals, and the perpetuation of these fortunes through inheritance, might have furthered social differentiation, and led to the formation of aristocratic families. In ancient times the possessor of a large herd had to be not merely a good shepherd, but a warrior well able to protect his herds against the attacks of enemies. Around him as a natural protector would cluster, first of all, groups of relatives, but also neighbors (na'mtumgin, "neighbor in camp") possessing but small herds or no herds at all. These people would become herdsmen subordinate in position, while it devolved on

[1] See Part I, p. 104.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4



the master to provide them with food and with skins for clothes. Able herdsmen would receive reindeer as presents from the master. In the further progress of these relations, the rich possessors of herds might have consolidated into an hereditary ruling class. This was prevented solely by the low character of the reindeer-culture. Frequent reindeer-pests, against which these primitive reindeer-breeders were and still are powerless, suddenly transformed rich herdsmen into beggars.

The life of the masters was in no way different from the life of the poor herdsmen. The latter were not considered a lower class. Good herdsmen could expect not only to marry the master's daughter, as they do up to the present time, but to receive from the master a part of his herd. In one myth[1] we are told that Big-Raven handed over to his son-in-law the larger half of his herd, the latter having proved himself a good herdsman. In another tale Big-Raven presents a part of his herd to the herdsman simply on account of his being a faithful worker.[2]

The Koryak say that in ancient times the rich and the strong men held slaves. These remained at home, and were employed for different kinds of housework, and under the supervision of the women. It is difficult to ascertain in how far they were the property of the conquerors, and whether they could be bought and sold. In my opinion, slavery as a regulated institution could hardly have existed to any great extent; for, as intimated above, the Koryak had little faith in their captives, and generally put them to death, fearing their vengeance.

In this connection, a myth in which it is related that parents gave to their married daughter one woman for cooking and one for sewing,[3] is of interest. These women, of course, could not have been hired servants in the modern sense, but must have been slaves with whom the masters could do as they pleased.

PRESENT FORMS OF SOCIAL LIFE. — I have already referred to the deteriorating influence which contact with the Russians has had on the development of the social relations of the Koryak. Relative security, with the cessation of wars and the waning of superstitions, weakened or eliminated the anti-social tendency towards the isolation of individual families. Such customs as the guarding of the family hearth against contact with objects belonging to other families, are now, under Russian influence, either but partly observed or they have been completely abandoned.

In the settlement Itkana, for instance, the only time when the family fire cannot be taken to another house is while fishing is going on, as this might turn the luck of the fishermen; but it may be carried in other seasons of the year. Kettles and teapots, on the other hand, are carried to other houses and back again at any season.

[1] See Part I, p. 269. [2] Ibid., p. 268. [3] Ibid., p. 209, No. 52.

L Smithsonian E-6 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4



177 went to Gishiginsk and complained to the authorities that they themselves, and the inhabitants of the neighboring village Levatı, had been robbed in the summer by American whalers. All the inhabitants of these two villages had departed in their skin boats to hunt seals. Only two Koryak had remained in Kamenskoye. While the villages were still deserted, two three-masters entered the bay and dropped anchor in the vicinity of Kamenskoye. Here three whales were killed. The men from the ships boarded their whale-boats and came ashore. The two Koryak mentioned above, seeing the approaching strangers, left the village and fled to a near-by rock. Watching the strangers from afar, they saw how they carried out of the houses foxes, reindeer-hides, and fur garments. Then the sailors entered Levatı, where they proceeded in the same fashion. Further, it appears from the "case" that an account of the occurrence, written by the chief of the Gishiga district, was sent by the Governor to the Minister of the Interior, who passed it over to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to be presented for explanation to the United States of North America. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, however, declared that he could not adopt the course of action suggested, for the testimony of the two Koryak was insufficient to positively establish the nationality of the sailors. Thus the affair remained unexplained. As, however, whalers of no other nationality had until then visited Gishiga Bay, it seems plausible that the whalers in question were Americans.

101 The Neighboring Peoples. — The neighbors of the Koryak at the present time are the Chukchee in the north, the Kamchadal in the south, the Yukaghir in the west, and the Tungus in the southwest. On the middle course of the Penshina River we find, wandering with their herds, the remainder of the now almost extinct Chuvantzy people, who were related to the Yukaghir, but have now become assimilated with the Koryak. From the direction of the Kolyma River, single representatives of the Yakut people at times go to the Koryak territory as traders. The Russianized Koryak of the Okhotsk district, like the inhabitants of Yamsk and Tumanskoye, have to a certain degree mixed with the Yakut, who have been forced to migrate from the vicinity of Yakutsk to the shores of the Okhotsk Sea.

174 648 I have repeatedly mentioned the fact that the Kamchadal, Koryak, and Chukchee are really branches of one and the same people, as testified to by the type of their languages, their religion and culture, except for the fact that the Kamchadal have no reindeer-herds. According to tradition, the early relations of the Koryak with the Chukchee were different from their relations with the Kamchadal. With the former the Koryak were constantly engaged in war, while their relations with the latter were of a more friendly character. The reason for this probably lies in the fact that the Reindeer Chukchee and the Reindeer Koryak, whose territories were as loosely defined in olden times as they are now, came into constant collision regarding pas-

l:Jochelson E-5 (1900-01)1908 RY4 Koryak RY4



turages. Besides, in the days when might was right, herds were often taken by force through direct attack of the herd-owner: they had to be always watched, arms in hand. The Reindeer Chukchee, in their invasions of the Koryak Reindeer camps, would ultimately reach the sea and attack the settlements of the Maritime Koryak. The northern villages of the Kerek are still subject to oppression by the Reindeer Chukchee, who, as the Koryak, often rob the Kerek of their stores, and exact service from them.

We have some traditions recording wars between the Kamchadal and the Koryak. Without doubt, such wars occured often, as well as lesser feuds between the various groups of each of these two peoples; but what may be concluded from the traditions is, that no such antagonism existed between the Kamchadal and the Koryak as between the latter and the Chukchee and Yukaghir. This could possibly be explained by the fact that in northern Kamchatka the settlements of the Maritime Koryak are in direct contact with the settlements of the Kamchadal. It would have been hard to draw an ethnographic line between these settlements. Marriages between the peoples were common, and the border region was populated by a mixed people.

The Kamchadal obtained from the Reindeer Koryak, through barter, hides for clothing, and these trading-relations were peaceful. In olden times the Reindeer Koryak did not advance in Kamchatka farther south than Tighil. The subsequent movement of the Reindeer Koryak along the western slope of the Kamchatka ridge southward led to complaints from the Kamchadal, who accused the reindeer-breeders of driving away their game-animals or of killing them out of the hunting-season. To regulate these conditions, the Russian authorities require from the Reindeer Koryak, that whenever they pass to the Kamchadal territory, they shall secure the consent of the neighboring Kamchadal villages and abstain from hunting earlier than the Kamchadal hunters. On the other hand, the Kamchadal derive benefits from the close proximity of the Reindeer Koryak; for, outside of the advantages of barter, the Koryak kill reindeer for the Kamchadal in times of famine. Still the Koryak are not admitted to the valley of the Kamchatka River.

The relations of the Koryak to the Yukaghir and Tungus will be discussed more fully in the work on the Yukaghir. Besides, the Koryak at present scarcely ever meet the Yukaghir. Only those of the Reindeer Koryak who during the winter traverse the Stanovoi Mountains to the valleys of the Korkodon and the Omolon Rivers, come in contact with the Korkodon Yukaghir. Their relations with the Yukaghir are rather of a beneficial character. The Yukaghir are too poor to carry on regular barter. Generally they induce the reindeer-owners to give them some hides and a little deer-meat for nothing. The Tungus, who before the advent of the Russians, were constantly at war with the Koryak, began, after the subjection of the country by Russia, to penetrate the unoccupied localities in the Koryak terri-

11: Kennan--206-207 T-3 (1865) 1870 Koryak
116, 174, 197 Reindeer

"There can be no doubt whatever that the Koraks and the powerful Siberian tribe known as Chookchees (or Tchucktchis, according to Vrangell) descended originally from the same stock, and migrated together from their ancient locations to the places where they now live. Even after several centuries of separation, they resemble each other so closely that they can hardly be distinguished, and their languages differ less one from the other than the Portuguese differs from the Spanish. Our Korak interpreters found very little difficulty in conversing with Chookchees; and a comparison of vocabularies which we afterward made showed only a slight dialectical variation, which could be easily accounted for by a few centuries of separation. None of the Siberian languages with which I am acquainted are written, and, lacking a fixed standard of reference, they change with great rapidity. This is [207] shown by a comparison of a modern Chookchee vocabulary with the one compiled by M. de Lesseps in 1788. Many words have altered so materially as to be hardly recognizable. Others, on the contrary, such as 'tin tin,' ice, 'oottoot,' wood, 'weeñgay,' no, 'ay,' yes, and most of the numerals up to ten, have undergone no change whatever."

17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4



relatively mild. However, it is swept by cold sea winds; in winter, there are severe snowstorms and a great deal of snow.

The animal world is represented by forest fauna (fox, squirrel, ermine, brown bear, chipmunk, black grouse, wood-grouse, magpies, nutcrackers, crows, etc.), tundra fauna (polar fox in the north, polar bear, encountered in the east, reindeer, polar partridge) and mountain fauna (mountain sheep), as well as some living fossils, such as yevrazhta hamster and Siberian marmot. One should also mention the variety of sea birds—eider, gulls, etc., and vast numbers of migratory birds which come in spring, including geese, ducks, snipe, swans, etc. The rivers, lakes and sea waters abound in fish. Most important for fishing are salmon species (Siberian humpback, silver chinook, etc.), herring, uyek (Mallotus villosus socialis), cod, etc. The Sea of Okhotsk and Bering Sea abound in sea animals (whale, killer whale, white whale, and several species of seal).

The Koryak language belongs, together with Chukchi and Itel'men, to the same group of northeastern paleo-Asiatic languages. It is close to Chukchi in vocabulary and morphology. The languages of the Chukchi and Koryaks are so similar that they understand each other.

The Koryak subgroups enumerated above speak 9 dialects. The main distinctions among the dialects are phonetic. They differ to a considerably smaller degree morphologically, and even less, in vocabulary. By their principal phonetic and morphological characteristics, the dialects fall into two groups—southern and northern. The dialects of the Koryak language probably stem from the languages of the Koryak tribes into which the Koryaks were divided in the past.

The problem of Koryak origin has not been studied sufficiently. The few archaeological investigations carried out in the northwestern part of Kamchatka and along the Okhotsk coast have uncovered remains of old dugouts, stone and bone implements, and pottery. These findings may evidently be attributed to the ancestors of the modern Koryaks. The Evens of the Okhotsk Sea coast attribute the dugouts to Koryaks and point to the clay utensils as a characteristic feature of the life of the old inhabitants.

In the 17th–19th centuries, the villages of the coastal Koryaks extended considerably farther than they do today. Koryak villages on the Okhotsk Sea coast reached to Tauy Gulf. On the coast of the Bering Sea, their villages were encountered in the 17th–18th centuries, almost up to the mouth of the Anadyr'. The expansion of the Evens on the Okhotsk Sea coast, which was especially intensive in the 18th century, narrowed the territory of the sedentary Koryaks. While the coastal Koryaks may be seen as the direct heirs of the most ancient neolithic culture of northern Kamchatka and the Okhotsk Sea coast, the problem of the origin of the reindeer-breeding Koryaks—the Chavchuvens—is unclear. Some investigators consider them as the descendants of coastal Koryaks, who developed reindeer-breeding under the influence of their neighbors, the Evens. The question of the dates and manner of the spread of reindeer-breeding among the Koryaks requires further study.

The oral folklore of the peoples of the Far Northeast attests to the close relations between Koryaks and their neighbors—the Chukchi, Evens, Yukagirs and Itel'mens. These relations were expressed, on the one hand, in intertribal barter, and on the other, in armed conflicts. Numerous Koryak and Chukchi legends relate that the northern neighbors of the Koryaks—the Chukchi—attacked them, drove off their reindeer, and carried off men and women as captives. Koryak folklore also tells of hostile clashes between coastal and reindeer-breeding Koryaks, which occurred before the coming of the Russians.

Among the reindeer-breeding Alyutortsy there were associations of families with small reindeer herds, bound by blood or affinal kinship. The typical correlation of reindeer in a herd owned in common by five households was: 5% + 10% + 20% + 25% + 30% = 90%. The other 10% of the herd usually belonged to sedentary relatives of the reindeer-breeders. Property inequality among the Alyutortsy was less pronounced than it was among the Chavchuvens. There were only a few cases where one of the co-owners in the association owned as much as 60% of the combined herd.

Thus, the backward forms of the Koryaks' subsistence economy fostered the preservation of communal relations among them.

The existence of clan relations among the Koryaks in the past is indicated by a number of aspects of their social life, and particularly by their family and marital ceremonials, which persisted into the first quarter of the 20th century. Among the survivals of clan organization we must note the custom of mutual assistance among related families, the custom forbidding outsiders to use the fire of an unrelated family, the residence (according to 18th-19th-century sources) of several related families in the same dwelling, the custom of vendetta, which survived until the early years of the 20th century, etc. In addition, the coastal Koryaks still retained traces of the institution of elders. In some of the villages there were persons called nym'elgen-an—"the guardian of the place," "the guardian of the past." This position could be held only by a man who was considered a descendant of the founder of the village. Each group of Koryaks headed by a nym'elgen-an had its own wooden image. In addition to the general designation of nym'elgen, the image also had its own name. Some of these names ("swallow," "duck") were of totemic character. Sacrifices were made to the images; they were "fed" and "dressed" in grass clothing.

Family relations at the end of the 19th century were based on patriarchal norms (patrilineal kinship, inheritance from father to son, patrilocal marriage). Along with this, there were survivals of matriarchy, the most distinct of which was the granting of children to the mother in case of divorce.

Among the remnants of extinct forms of group marriage were the surviving custom of the sororate, according to which a widower must marry the younger sister, younger cousin or niece of his dead wife, and the custom of the levirate, according to which a younger brother had to marry the widow of his older brother; in the absence of a brother, this duty devolved on the nephew or cousin of the dead husband. However, such survivals of group marriage as the Chukchi "association by wife" were already unknown among the Koryaks in the 18th century.

The most common method of contracting a marriage was by working for the wife. Under this custom, the groom had to work from 2-3 months to three years in the family of his future father-in-law, taking part in tending reindeer and other tasks. After the expiration of the work period, the groom performed the so-called ceremony of "catching the bride": the bride ran about in the house, and the groom had to catch her, tear her clothing, and touch her bare body. The bride's relative's present at the ceremony tried to hinder this in every way, beat the groom with twigs, pushed him away, and so on.

According to Koryak religion, the whole world was inhabited by a multitude of harmful beings—nin'vit's. The nin'vit's were invisible, but could become visible if they chose. They appeared to people in the form of anthropomorphic creatures, with huge ears, burning eyes (sometimes with one eye, sometimes with three), with long sharp teeth and a body covered with thick black fur. It was thought that the nin'vit's hunted and ate people by entering them and causing illness. To placate the nin'vit's, the Koryaks

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4. (cont.)
knew nothing of the Kamchadal. One can explain such a misunderstanding of Steller's remarks as happened to Gerland in part by Steller's antiquated style and in part by the frequently (and even at the place concerned, p. 8) exceeding faulty and incorrect punctuation in this publication of his work. As I have already pointed out at another place (Reis. u. Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. II, p. 762, note 3), Pallas said of it that it "was printed from a rough draft and in the hands of the publisher (J.B.S.) became loaded with the most inexcusable copying and printing errors revealing a great ignorance (Neue Nord. Beytr., Vol. II, p. 255). One will be convinced of the accuracy of this opinion by Pallas on every page while reading Steller's work. For this reason I believe that the apparent difference in these two Koryak terms for the Kamchadal can be traced to merely a printing error. Steller also says that the sedentary Koryak along the Sea of Okhotsk are called "Nūmala akalila," i.e., sitting, resting, by their countrymen who roam with reindeer. Could it be, however, that this "Nūmala," like "Namalau," is also a reference to their subterranean dwellings?

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Some, the sedentary ones, of the Koryak, also a Paleo-Asiatic people, retained the earth yurt to this day, insofar as they have not already adopted Russian customs and hence also Russian dwellings, for example, according to Ditmar (5), /335/in particular

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5. "Ueber die Koräken und die ihnen sehr nahe verwandten Tschuktschen /On the Koryak and the Chukchee Very Closely Related to Them/" (Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersb., Vol. XIII, pp. 104, 107, 109; Mél. russes, Vol. III, pp. 8, 12, 16).

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342 [178] [177] the Kamenzen and Parenzen settled around Penshin Bay, as well as the northernmost Pallanzen (in Pusstorezk and Podkagernaja), and the majority of the Olutorzen on the northeast coast of Kamchatka. According to Ditmar, the Koryak earth-yurt is very simple in nature: a pit approximately 2-3 fathoms square, lined and roofed over with wooden logs, and, like the Kamchadal yurt of old, it is entered through the smoke hole (1). According to

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1. Krascheninnikof ("Opis. zemli Kamchatki." -- Poln. sobr. putesh. i pr., Vol. II, p. 195), Müller ("Geogr. und Verfass. von Kamtschatka /Geography and Condition of Kamchatka/," in the appendix to Steller's Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtsch., p. 24), Ditmar (op. cit.), Bush (Reindeer, dogs and snow-shoes; a journ. of Siber. travels and explor. made in the years 1865-1867, London, 1871, p. 352), Kennan (Tent life in Siberia and Adventures among the Koraks and oth. tribes in Kamtschatka and North Asia, London, 1871, pp. 153, 178), and others. The latter in particular describes entering or leaving through the smoke hole in the Koryak yurt and all the inconveniences connected with it in a most drastic way.

Maydell, the Koryak earth-yurt also has a side entrance, which leads down into the interior through a narrow, slightly sloping channel, but this is used only once a year, namely, when the owner moves into his yurt in the fall, he first crawls in through this passageway, but then closes it immediately with sealskin stretched over a frame, and the rest of the time only the smoke hole may be used for entering or leaving (2). The nomadic

2. According to an oral communication from G. v. Maydell.

[174] Koryak, of course, have no earth yurts. Could it be, however, that their ancestors did have such earth yurts? It is generally

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/335 cont./ It is generally believed that the sedentary Koryak in former times were reindeer nomads and only after the loss of their herds settled along the seacoast in order to live on hunting and fishing -- a change that has to some extent also taken place and is still taking place among the Chukchee (3). But between the sedentary or coastal Chukchee

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3. Krascheninnikof (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 204) thought that the sedentary Koryak had formerly been reindeer nomads. Erman (Reise um die Erde /Journey around the World/ Part 1, "Histor. Bericht. /Historical Information/," Vol. II, Berlin, 1838, p. 423, note), Ditmar (Bull., etc., op. cit., pp. 103, 127; Mél., op. cit., pp. 7, 36), and Kennan (op. cit., p. 159) express themselves similarly. According to Ditmar, this impoverishment took place a long time ago, as legend has it, during the battles with the Chukchee. Ssarytschof /Sarychev/ (Putesh. po Sievero-vost. chasti Sibiri, Ledov. moriu i Vostochn. Ok. /Travels in the Northeastern Parts of Siberia and the Arctic and Eastern (Pacific) Oceans/, Pt. II, p. 105) thought the same about the Chukchee, but confused the sedentary Chukchee with the Namollo. There is no doubt but that the true coastal Chukchee arose and are still arising from nomads of the same tribe who have lost their reindeer, as is stated by Wrangell /Vrangel'/ (Put. po siev. ber. Sib. i po Ledov. moriu /A Voyage along the North Coast of Siberia and through the Arctic Ocean/, Pt. II, p. 335), Ditmar (loc. cit.) and others.

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and the sedentary Koryak there is the great difference that the latter are in fact sedentary and have permanent winter and summer houses, while the former, even after the loss of their reindeer and after their settling down along the seacoast, have

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/335 cont./ retained a seminomadic life and accordingly do not build permanent dwellings or earth yurts, but live in their transportable tents as before (4). The former seems to me to be a traditional, more

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4. Wrangell (Putesh., etc., Part II, p. 336). Nordenskjöld (Die Umsegel. Asiens und Europas auf der Vega /The Circumnavigation of Asia and Europe on the Vega/, German transl., Leipzig, 1882, Vol. II, p. 82). In the latter work one also finds an illustration of a tent of the coastal or sedentary Chukchee (Vol. I, p. 394), from a photograph by L. Palander). There is also frequent mention in it of the number and nature of the various tents in the villages visited by the members of the Vega Expedition during their winter travels, as well as of the change of dwelling of the coastal Chukchee, sometimes taking place in winter (for instance, Vol. I, p. 443, and elsewhere). Likewise in Nordqvist (see Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1881, p. 42).

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or less original /336/ way of life, the latter only a later, sometimes merely temporary, change backward. In my opinion, therefore, one should conceive of the change in the way of life of these peoples in reverse fashion: like the sedentary Koryak of today, the ancestors of the now nomadic Koryak and likewise the Chukchee, tribally related to them and differing from them only dialectally (1), formerly had permanent dwelling sites, and to be

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1. Steller (op. cit., p. 8, note a) and Krascheninnikof (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 197) pointed out the close relationship between the two peoples, which was later confirmed several times, for instance, by Ssarytschof (Putesh. kap. Billingsa chrez" Chukotskuiu zemliu, izvl. iz" razn. zhurn. /Captain

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1. (cont.)
Billings' Journey across Chukchee Land, Taken from Various Magazines/, St. Petersburg, 1811, p. 67, footnote), Lütke /Litke/ (Voyage autour du monde, sur la corv. Le Seniavine, dans les ann. 1826-1829 /Voyage around the World on the Corvette "Le Seniavine" in 1826-1829/," Partie hist. /Historical Section/," Vol. II, Paris, 1835, p. 262; the same in Erman's Archiv für wiss. Kunde von Russland, Vol. III, 1843, p. 449), and others.

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sure just such earth-yurts, until they became acquainted with and adopted from their neighbors, presumably the Tungus pressing in upon them, the domesticated reindeer, a domestic animal still foreign to the Paleo-Asiatic peoples; as soon as this happened, they had to give up their sedentary way of life and take up a nomadic life, along with which, of course, they were forced to exchange their fixed earth-yurt for a transportable tent. And it is completely in harmony with this when Wrangell (2), in characterizing

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2. Op. cit., p. 332.

the Chukchee, says that in spite of their nomadic life, they have many more sedentary traits in their whole system than any other nomadic people: only an insufficiency of pasturage and a lack of fodder for their reindeer can force them to leave a place; their inclination toward a sedentary way of life is further shown by the fact that they lay in supplies and are thrifty, indeed even niggardly -- clearly traits which the nomadic peoples lack entirely; indeed, even their clothing, the wide, clumsy fur-shirt and the long fur trousers, are more suitable for a sedentary way of life (3).

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3. Wrangell particularly emphasizes these pecularities of the Chukchee in contrast to the Tungus, these special nomads concerning whom

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3. (cont.)
Adam Brandt (Neuverm. Beschreib. seiner gross. Chines. Reise, welche er anno 1692 von Moscau aus über Gross-Ustiga, Siberien, Dauren und die grosse Tartarey bis in Chinam und von da wieder zurück nach Moscau innerhalb 3 Jahren vollbracht /Revised description of his great China Trip, which he completed in three years, from Moscow in 1692, over Great Ustiga, Siberia, Dauria, and Great Tartary as far as China, and from there back to Moscow again/, 3rd ed., Lübeck, 1734, p. 99) cites a characteristic trait in this connection, that they know no other curse than: "May you live among the Russians, may you till the soil!"

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If this is so, however, if formerly all the Koryak and Chukchee had permanent dwelling sites, earth yurts, then the remains and traces of them must be found to this day in the undisturbed, usually frozen soil of their homeland, particularly in the case of the earth yurts of the Chukchee, for the Koryak in part, as is known, still have such dwellings today, or traces of this must have been preserved in the legends and traditions of these peoples. Both are in fact the case -- but up to now it has been interpreted differently. Almost all the travelers in the Chukchee region mention the remains of ancient earth-yurts present there, in which the woodwork is often replaced by whole ribs. According to Wrangell they occur along the coast of the Arctic Ocean in the whole stretch between the Bering Strait and Cape Schelagskij (4).

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4. Vrangel', Putesh., etc., Part II, pp. 295-333.

In this stretch, at Cape Irkaipij (North Cape) and at other places, the Vega Expedition, too, found them: some of them were opened up and old stone and bone tools were brought to light from them; sometimes one saw these old dwelling places used by the present-day Chukchee /337/ as fat vaults (1). Ssarytschof found such

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1. Nordenskjöld, Die Umsegelung Asiens u. Europas auf der Vega. Authorized German edition. Vol. I, Leipzig, 1882, pp. 403-406, 456, etc. One also finds there an illustration of the remains of such an old hut, from a drawing by Nordqvist, and several tools found in it.

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342 Ssarytschof found such
172 remains even farther to the west, near Baranof Rock (2). They
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2. Sarychev", Putesh. po Sieverovost. chasti Sibiri, Ledov. moriu i Vost. okeanu, Part II, pp. 95, 96.

are ascribed to the Onkilon. But what people were they? Opinions differ as to that. Wrangell thought that the Onkilon, who, according to legend, were formerly distributed up to Cape Schelagskij, were the same Eskimo who even today dwell in quite similar earth yurts along the Asiatic coast of the Bering Strait and the Bering Sea, that is, the Namollo or Juit (3). Nordenskjöld designates them

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3. There is mention above (p. 251, note 1 /untranslated/) of this view of Wrangell's concerning the former distribution of the Asiatic Eskimo -- a view which I at present, however, no longer share, as one will see from the following.

merely as a people driven from their sites on the coast of the Polar Sea by the Chukchee, and who, according to legend, moved to some islands far out in the Arctic Ocean. But could it not be that the Onkilon were the ancestors of the Chukchee at the time when they still, like the Koryak along Penshinsk Bay and the Bering Sea, lived in permanent earth yurts along the Arctic Ocean? The following reasons seem to me to argue in favor of this.

NS /488 cont./
492 development, also by the Russians, of the greatest and fullest use
484 of them and for the longest journeys, for instance, to the New Siberian Islands, etc., were found there along the Jana and Indigirka.

K To the north of Kamchatka we find another Paleo-Asiatic
231 people, the Koryak living in permanent sites along Penshinsker
[361] /Penzhinskaya/ Gulf and along the Bering Sea, who likewise
[492] have only the dog as a domestic and, at the same time, draft animal. I believe that I have already proved above (7) that

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7. See pp. 481 ff.

formerly the ancestors of the now nomadic Koryak and the closely related Chukchee (the Onkilon) had permanent habitation sites and, in fact, earth yurts, just as they did, and, correspondingly, as fishermen, seal-hunters, etc., like them, they, too, may have had only the dog as a companion until they became acquainted with the domesticated reindeer, probably through the Tungus pressing in on them from the south and the west, and with it took up their present nomadic life.

G. /489/ Thus, we must designate the dog, this oldest of all
Gi animals domesticated by man, as the only domestic animal and
NS therefore, especially in its position as draft animal, as, so to
K speak, a characteristic form of the Paleo-Asiatic peoples, this
231 oldest formation of peoples in northeastern Asia. Where, subse-
171 quently, another domestic animal appears among them, such as the reindeer among the nomadic Koryak and Chukchee in the case mentioned above, it is always a gift brought to them at a later period by a younger family of peoples with whom they came in contact.

E Without doubt it may be assumed that the Eskimo, like
231 other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, had the dog as their only domestic
171 animal and used it in harness when they were still on their
174 original Asiatic soil. With this domestic animal they crossed over to America, and there, continuing to live in the same way by fishing, seal-hunting, etc., they spread across the entire northern

Eskimo ND2
Circumpolar Culture R3
Koryak RY4
Chukchee RY2

E /489 cont./
231 part of the continent, from the Bering Sea to Greenland, which
191 explains the fact, so surprising at first glance, that in America
194 there are no peoples at all devoting themselves to keeping tame reindeer, as in the Old World, in spite of the fact that the physical conditions for it are not lacking there, and the reindeer in the wild state occur there frequently and commonly enough and are hunted by the Eskimo for food and clothing. America re-
C 194 ceived all of its population in the reindeer zone from an Asian
231 group of peoples who did not yet know the domesticated reindeer
191 and had only the dog as a domestic animal, and, to be sure, for the purpose of harnessing it, and thus necessarily kept in great numbers and in a stage of domestication in which the nobler qualities of personal attachment, faithfulness, and vigilance were still missing in it, and, on the other hand, its predatory nature appeared on every occasion. This latter circumstance in itself makes inconceivable a separate domestication of another animal defenseless against the dog, like the reindeer, by such peoples (1).

> 1. Middendorff (Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1302) remarks that in those places of Siberia where the harness dogs prevail, neither sheep nor poultry can gain a foothold, and even calves are threatened by constant danger. In Kamchatka, not only poultry, but pigs and cows, too, were attacked by dogs, which gave rise to the removal of the latter for the summer from Peter-Paul Harbor, as is done today, and keeping them at another place.

And, furthermore, why should a fishing people, such as the Eskimo and all the Paleo-Asiatics, think of domesticating an animal for which they have no food, and on this account they would be ob-
Ch K 194 liged to give up their permanent habitation sites and change their entire way of life? The ancestors of the nomadic Chukchee and
231 Koryak certainly did not domesticate the reindeer themselves,
191 but obtained it already domesticated from a nomadic tribe wandering toward them -- as was mentioned above, presumably from the Tungus.